

BRITISH ARMY AND COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS IN NORTH TARANAKI, 1865-69

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Abstract. British Army and colonial fortifications of the Taranaki Wars in the years 1865-69 are described. During this period European success in the struggle was ensured by the settlement of European farmers on confiscated land, to deny Maori the resources to continue the fight, and at the same time secure the settlers' major objective which was land. Twenty-three forts include earthwork redoubts, and timber stockades and blockhouses. In each case the reason for establishment of the post is outlined, along with a brief history of the military occupation. The form is described from historical evidence and surviving archaeological remains. This is followed by a summary of the form and purpose of European fieldworks in north Taranaki throughout the campaigns of 1860 to 1869.

KEYWORDS: European fortifications; historical archaeology; New Zealand Wars; Taranaki; redoubts; stockades; blockhouses.

INTRODUCTION

The following is the third article in a series describing the purpose, history, form and archaeology of field fortifications relating to the Taranaki campaigns of the 1860s. The first dealt with Maori and European works of the First Taranaki War, 1860-61 (Prickett 1994a). The second covered the opening phases of the Second Taranaki War, in this case including only European works (Prickett 1996). In the present article I describe British Army and colonial fortifications of the years 1865-69.

The north Taranaki region extends from Paraninihi (White Cliffs) in the north, to Opunake in the south (Fig. 1). In the 1860s this was an isolated province of Pakeha New Zealand, in which the fighting also was quite remote from that taking place in other parts of the country. It was not until 1865 that European land forces in Taranaki made contact with troops campaigning out of Wanganui.

The fighting which took place in north Taranaki in 1860-69 was concerned largely with the expansion of European settlement and government in the region, and with resistance to this process by Maori. The war which broke out in 1860 over the disputed sale of land at Waitara ended without resolution, the great questions between the two races unresolved. In the north, British troops held Waitara for which the Governor risked war. South of New Plymouth, Maori forces held the outlying Tataraimaka Block on which European farmers had been settled since the 1840s.

Fighting began again in 1863 when Governor George Grey set about re-occupying Tataraimaka without first giving up Waitara. He then repudiated the Waitara purchase, and withdrew the Waitara and Sentry Hill garrisons. But political and military considerations soon

“South to Stoney River” completes the story of the summer 1864-65 return to Tataraimaka which was begun in my last work (Prickett 1996:43-45), and outlines the related occupation of Maori land to Stoney River which was to be the frontier of European settlement until the Parihaka Campaign of 1880-81. “Closing off the north” describes the movement to Pukearuhe, which prevented Maori reinforcements entering Taranaki from that direction. This was the last of three movements which isolated Maori fighters in the region; the others which closed the coastal and inland routes from the south are described in my previous article.

“Beyond Stoney River” introduces Warea and Opunake Redoubts, from which troops put pressure on Maori fighting strength in the bush country inland of Cape Egmont, and secured the European farming settlement north of Stoney River (Hangatahua). “Taking up the land”, deals with blockhouses erected at military-settler farming districts in north Taranaki. The last section describes military activity beyond Waitara River in 1869, after a Maori raid on Pukearuhe caused European forces to withdraw from that isolated post. By 1870 European settlers taking up confiscated land were rapidly transforming Taranaki’s demographic, political and economic landscape.

The archaeological fieldwork and historical research for this study was carried out mostly in the late 1970s, as part of a Ph.D. programme at the Anthropology Department, University of Auckland. Regular visits since then have allowed me to record changes to the sites. New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers and map references for the sites are given in Appendix 1.

Throughout this work the following abbreviations are used: AC for Armed Constabulary, LINZ for Land Information New Zealand, NP for New Plymouth, TMS for Taranaki Military Settlers, and TMV for Taranaki Militia and Volunteers.

SOUTH TO STONEY RIVER

TATARAIMAKA BLOCKHOUSE

The re-occupation of St George’s Redoubt in November 1864 (described in Prickett 1996:8) was followed by the return of European settlers to Tataraimaka, which they had left early in the First Taranaki War. In a letter to the Assistant Military Secretary, Auckland, the officer in command of British troops in Taranaki, Colonel H.J. Warre, sought permission to erect two blockhouses in the Tataraimaka district, “similar to that recently erected at Dingle’s Farm” (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 3 Dec 1864).

The site for one of these was chosen on 22 January 1865, Warre writing in his journal, “... accompanied by Mr Atkinson CM Clarke and I rode round the Tatara Block, decided to place a Blockhouse on Mr Rawson’s land”. On 28 February 1865 the new post was occupied by one officer, one sergeant and 21 rank and file of Captain McKellar’s company of Military Settlers from nearby Timaru Redoubt (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 27 Feb 1865; *Taranaki Herald* 11 Mar 1865).

When McKellar moved to Tuahukino in April 1865 Tataraimaka was taken over by Captain Carthew’s company, then engaged in road making near the Kaihihi River (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 18 Apr 1865). The blockhouse was locked up in September 1866 when local forces were sent south to Patea (TMS Memo Book, 26 Sep 1866). It was re-occupied the following month, but soon after abandoned by its permanent garrison to be maintained only by local settlers as a militia post.

The February 1869 Maori attack on White Cliffs saw a last brief re-occupation of the post, with Sergeant Carpenter going to Tataraimaka to take charge of 12 settlers of the district (TMV

Order Book, 16 Feb 1869). An 1869 Colonial Defence Office report states that the blockhouse, with accommodation for 25 men, plus one officers' and one store room, was then in good repair (AD35/12).

The location of Tataraimaka Blockhouse can easily be determined. Dr T.E. Rawson owned 150 acres on Pitone Road (Crown Grant Record Map, Wairau & Cape, LINZ, New Plymouth), and the blockhouse is marked on this land ("Site of Old Block House") on the relevant block sheet (Cape II (14/4A), LINZ, New Plymouth). The site is on a prominent knoll 100 m west of the junction of Pitone Road and the present main road. A later farm house may have erased any archaeological remains of the blockhouse. The present house is forward of the blockhouse site.

The Tataraimaka Blockhouse was probably of the standard two-storeyed defensible form. Evidence for this is Warre's stated intention to erect a building similar to Dingle's Blockhouse (for which, see Prickett 1996:29), and a *Taranaki Herald* report of 26 July 1871 which refers to a lightning strike on the "bottom room".

The *Taranaki Herald* of 11 March 1865 states that, "another blockhouse is to be erected on Mr Cutfield's land". George Cutfield, who was for a time Superintendent of Taranaki Province, owned 298 acres on the west side of the junction of Greenwood and Timaru Roads, and another block east of the present main road and upper Timaru Road (Crown Grant Record Map, Wairau & Cape, LINZ, New Plymouth). There is no evidence that this second post was ever built.

STONEY RIVER REDOUBT

On 14 December 1864 Grey wrote to General Cameron setting out the government's objectives in the Taranaki and Wanganui districts. The immediate aim in Taranaki was, "...such occupation of the country from Tataraimaka southwards as will secure for settlement a block of land between Tataraimaka and the Stoney River" (AJHR 1865 A-4). The necessary orders were soon given, and on 25 January Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, at Headquarters in Wanganui,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut General Commanding that the Det 43rd Light Infantry stationed at Tataraimaka under Command of Major Colvile, with a 12 pr Armstrong Gun, marched thence on the morning of the 23rd inst and occupied a position on a commanding knoll on the right bank of the Stoney (Hangatahua) River, about four hundred yards from the River and a mile and a half inland, without any opposition being offered by the Rebel Natives.

A Redoubt is being erected on the site selected under the superintendence of Lieut Ferguson R.E. (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 25 Jan 1865)

Warre lists Colvile's force as follows: Royal Artillery – one captain, three rank and file; Royal Engineers — one subaltern, one sergeant, four rank and file; 43rd Regiment – one field officer, two captains, six subalterns, nine sergeants, eight drummers and 197 rank and file.

Stoney River was to be the frontier of effective European control and settlement south of New Plymouth for 15 years, until the Parihaka Campaign of 1880–81.

The redoubt thrown up at Stoney River was at first 'Te Ngana' or 'Ngana', the name 'Stoney River Redoubt' only gradually coming into use. On 11 February 1865 the *Taranaki Herald* reported the 'Ngana Redoubt' complete, and another camp set up nearer the coast, about three-quarters of a mile from the Stoney River ford. The reason for the new camp is given in Colonel Warre's diary:

The Redoubt [Stoney River] is very badly built – unflanked – & much too small for the number proposed viz 100 men... Selected a site near the [redoubt?] where to place the men who cannot be accommodated in the Redoubt & afterwards visited Capt Corbett's Co of Mily Settlers at Kaihihi. (Warre Journal 2 Feb 1865)

The redoubt never seems to have been satisfactory; in April 1865 Warre was still grumbling: "Mr Ferguson very obstinate about the Redoubt at Stony River which is too small & very badly defended nearly altogether unflanked" (Warre Journal 12 Apr 1865).

On 20 February 1865 the 43rd at Stony River was reduced to eight officers, seven sergeants, six drummers, and 150 rank and file, still under Major Colvile. Lieutenant Colonel F.H. Synge, in command of the 43rd in Taranaki, was instructed:

You will observe that the strength of the officers is not reduced, as it is still necessary, owing to the smallness of the Redoubt at Te Ngana to keep up two camps at Stony River. (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 18 Feb 1865)

On 12 April Colvile was at the second camp, in command of the whole force, with Major Close in charge at the redoubt (Warre Journal 12 Apr 1865).

On 1 May the 43rd was ordered to Warea and Opunake. Stony River was taken over by Captain Percival's company of Military Settlers (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 8 May 1865). On 1 July the garrison still comprised a T.M.S. company, plus four men of the Royal Artillery and seven Commissariat and Transport Corps (WO 0270.II:434). The 43rd, with Lieutenant Colonel Synge and headquarters, returned to Stony River on 28 October 1865 (NP Garrison Order Book, 25 Oct 1865). There is no mention now of two positions. At the end of November Synge returned to town, leaving Captain Horan in charge (NP Garrison Order Book 20 Nov 1865).

In February 1866 the 43rd was replaced at Stony River by the 50th (The Queen's Own) Regiment, lately arrived from Patea. At first the 50th established its headquarters at Stony River under Colonel Weare (Fyler 1895:286). When Weare replaced Colonel Warre as commanding officer in Taranaki, Captain Creagh took over at the southern outpost in the winter of 1866. On 20 August the 50th at Stony River included 88 rank and file (AJHR 1867 A-1). The regiment withdrew from Opunake, Warea and Stony River in May 1867 (*Taranaki Herald* 4 May 1867). Stony River was not reoccupied.

In Figure 2 Colonel Warre shows the auxiliary camp in the foreground, with a cart road near the line of today's Kaihihi Road leading to a redoubt on top of a low hill. Earthworks which might relate to the redoubt can be seen in New Zealand Aerial Mapping aerial photograph 4341/5, taken in February 1970, on the lahar mound south-east of the corner of Kaihihi and Brophy Roads. Any remaining evidence was destroyed in the early 1970s when the present house was built on the site. Evidence of the camp has not been found.

ORONGOMAIHANGI

When the 43rd advanced to Stony River in early 1865, Military Settlers also moved into the district, camping for a time at Orongomaihangī, Tukitukipapa and possibly also at Puke Ti. In spring 1865 they were at Okato where a township was laid out and rural sections of 50 acres surveyed for the men.

Captain Corbett's No 2 company occupied Orongomaihangī in January 1865 (*Taranaki*



Fig. 2. "Mt Egmont from the Camp near Stoney River", H.J. Warre. (Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.) The redoubt with tents inside can be seen in the middle distance.

Herald 4 Feb 1865) – somewhere near the old Kaihihi River pa taken by General Pratt in his spring 1860 sapping practice for later operations at Waitara (see Prickett 1994a:49-51). The new post protected the coast road to Stoney River. The present inland road was constructed later in 1865. When Corbett's company marched north to No 6 Redoubt (Huirangi) on 23 February 1865 (Prickett 1996:38) they were not replaced at Orongomaihangī.

TUKITUKIPAPA

Military Settlers next occupied Tukitukipapa, the *Taranaki Herald* of 4 March 1865 reporting,

Southwards, Orongomaihangī still remains unoccupied. Captain Carthew, who marched through the town on Saturday last with his company, has formed a temporary encampment at Tukitukipapa, where he will remain until the roads which Lieutenant Ferguson, R.E., is at present laying out are completed, when the company will move on to the beautiful district of Puketehe.

Tukitukipapa was the scene of an agreement with the local Ngamahanga tribe on 22 January 1865 (G16/8), as a result of which the inhabitants moved south of Stoney River to Mocketuna (G16/7). Tukitukipapa was at that time reported as a pa, "...formed of earthworks exactly after the models of English redoubts, with flanking angles and ditch complete" (*Taranaki Herald* 28

Jan 1865). On 18 March the *Taranaki Herald* reported that Captain Carthew's No 4 Company was continuing with an inland road from Tukitukipapa.

Tukitukipapa is marked on the NZMS 177 series cadastral map (N108 460812). Earthworks are to be seen north of Maitahi Stream, between the coast road at the seaward end of Leith Road and the low sea cliff. Ditch and bank defence encloses an area ca 80 m long and up to 45 m deep to the cliff edge. The square plan suggests European defences—or confirms the observations of the January 1865 *Taranaki Herald* correspondent.

PUKE TI

Puke Ti appears to have been occupied for a few weeks in March and April 1865, near the present junction of the main road and Perth Road. The name is sometimes given as Pukete, or Puketehe. A pa "Puki Ti" is marked on the NZMS 177 series cadastral map N108, map reference 477767 (and is described in Prickett 1983:20-21).

When Captain Carthew's Military Settlers moved south to relieve Captain Corbett they were first ordered to Puke Ti,

... where this Company will have to construct a Redoubt under the direction of Lieut Ferguson who will be instructed accordingly.

The position of Puke Ti which is rather inland but on this side of Kaihihi, will be pointed out to the Officer Commanding by the D.A.Q.M. General, but it will be advisable to halt for the night at Tataraimaka, and March early next morning to Puke Ti, to get the ground marked out & the Camp pitched with the necessary Outlying Piquets before dark. (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 19 Feb 1865)

No 4 Company was still at Tukitukipapa in mid-March, but early in April had reached Puke Ti (*Taranaki Herald* 8 Apr 1865). By this time work on the inland road from Tataraimaka to Stoney River was rapidly being completed, for which the new post was much more convenient.

On 23 April orders were given for Captain Carthew's company to join Colonel Warre at Warea (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). In June they were at Opunake (*Taranaki Herald* 24 Jun 1865). Puke Ti is listed as an occupied post in a report on the strength and distribution of troops on 31 May 1865 (AJHR 1865 A-4:63-64), but was probably already abandoned by this time.

No archaeological evidence has been found. A surveyor's field sketch which may relate to a military work at Puke Ti shows a rectangular fortification with flanking defence on the two long sides (Fieldbook O.7, p. 13, LINZ, New Plymouth). Exactly where this was is not clear.

CLOSING OFF THE NORTH

At the end of April 1865 military moves were made north and south of New Plymouth which were important for the prosecution of the war in Taranaki, and in the wider political history of New Zealand. The first was to Pukearuhe, an old Ngati Tama pa at the south end of Parininihi (White Cliffs), where a redoubt was thrown up to close off the route into the war zone from the north. The beach beneath the 300 m high White Cliffs was the last of three Maori routes into north Taranaki to be closed, after the others in autumn and spring 1864 (see Prickett 1996:23, 33).

A few days after the move to Pukearuhe Colonel Warre moved south to throw up strong redoubts at Warea and Opunake on the coast beyond Stoney River. This allowed land contact with General Cameron's troops campaigning out of Wanganui to the Waingongoro River, and

facilitated military action against centres of Maori resistance in forested areas west of Mt Taranaki.

Cameron insisted he gave no orders for the occupation of Pukearuhe or Opunake, and was angered by Warre and other officers communicating with Grey and government ministers behind his back. He wrote to Grey on 3 May:

Since my arrival in Auckland on the 30th ultimo, I have read an account in the newspapers of Colonel Warre having occupied not only Te Namu, but also a point near the White Cliffs, about thirty miles, I believe, north of New Plymouth.

I had not received your letter of the 26th April [in which Grey suggests that Warre occupy Opunake] when I left the Patea, and had therefore given no orders to Colonel Warre to occupy either of these points, and I am not aware by whose orders he has done so. (AJHR 1865 A-4:32)

Grey replied that he had no information regarding the occupation of Opunake or Pukearuhe, "... excepting a private note from Colonel Warre", and praising Warre's actions in the strongest terms:

... I believe that the two most important movements he has so skillfully and successfully made will go very far to bring to a close the war which has so long prevailed in the Taranaki district. (AJHR 1865 A-4:37)

The argument was eventually referred to London, on one occasion Cameron sending a vessel to Melbourne so that his despatches would arrive in England on the same mail as Grey's. The feud played a major part in Cameron's return to England in August.

Grey was less than straightforward. There is, for example, a letter to Atkinson, written some days before Cameron found out about the movement from the newspapers, in which he praises Colonel Warre for his action in occupying Pukearuhe (AJHR 1865 A-4:66). Warre was lucky to escape being cashiered, and earned a severe reprimand from the Commander in Chief (WO 0270.II).

PUKEARUHE REDOUBT

The immediate reason for the occupation of Pukearuhe is given in the *Taranaki Herald* of 29 April 1865.

On Sunday last [23 April] a report was received through a native, who had come over from the enemy to warn the friendly natives, that the Ngatimaniapotos were expected down immediately by Wm. King's people. As it would have hindered the survey and occupation of the Waitara country, and interfered with any other movement, to have any considerable number of natives at Kaipikari, Colonel Warre with commendable promptitude, after consulting with the Minister for Colonial Defence, determined on taking possession of Pukearuhe, a position commanding the pass by the White Cliffs, and cutting off communication from the north. The Phoebe being opportunely in, was chartered to take 150 of the 70th and the Bushrangers down, and they accordingly embarked in the evening under command of Colonel Mulock, arriving off Pukearuhe early on Monday morning.

Because of deteriorating weather only part of the force was landed, without essential supplies

or commanding officer. The *Phoebe* went on to Onehunga. Those landed were Native Commissioner Robert Parris and two Maori, 35 Bushrangers under Captain Jonas and Lieutenant Free, and about 70 of the 70th under Captain Ralston (*Taranaki Herald* 29 Apr 1865). Stores included tents, two bags of biscuits and some salt pork (AJHR 1865 E-8).

That night a party of Maori came overland from New Plymouth, but were sent back to Mimi to obtain food from cultivations there (AJHR 1865 E-8). On Wednesday, 26 April, Parris returned to New Plymouth to make known the predicament of the men at Pukearuhe. Colonel Warre at once despatched the steam ship *Wonga Wonga* with supplies and reinforcements, which arrived on Friday morning. Captain Messenger, Lieutenant Clarke, Ensign Fookes, Surgeon Spence and 75 Military Settlers were added to the garrison and the Bushrangers withdrawn (*Taranaki Herald* 6 May 1865).

When Parris returned to Pukearuhe on 9 May he reported “a very fine redoubt” almost completed (AJHR 1865 E-8). On 31 May the garrison included Captain Ralston, two subalterns, three sergeants, five drummers and 61 rank and file, 70th Regiment; three subalterns, one staff officer, four sergeants, a drummer and 71 rank and file, T.M.S.; and two men of the 43rd Light Infantry (AJHR 1865 A-5:63-64).

A blockhouse was erected within the redoubt (Fig. 3). The successful tenderers at £340 were Messrs Burton and Kelly of New Plymouth. Because of a dispute over payment the tender document has been preserved (AD1 66/3019). The building was specified as including an upper floor 42 feet 6 inches by 18 feet, and a lower, 40 feet by 15 feet 6 inches. The dispute arose partly over the loss of building material with the wreck of the *Alexandra* at White Cliffs and the loss of the *Stuart's* cargo at the Waitara River mouth. The blockhouse was completed at the end of September 1865 (AD1 65/2724).

Towards the end of August 1865 the 70th Regiment was withdrawn from Pukearuhe (AD31/24). Captain Messenger's No 5 Company Taranaki Military Settlers at the post were then made up of 100 men and four officers (AD1 65/2570). Soon after the troops' departure Major Baddeley



Fig. 3. Members of No 9 Company, Taranaki Military Settlers, gather for their rum ration outside the 1865-69 blockhouse at Pukearuhe, ca 1866. (Taranaki Museum.)

took command. Before the end of 1865 No 9 Company under Captain Page took over at the post (Fig. 3).

As an advanced frontier post Pukearuhe was subject to alarms as parties of Maori were seen in the district. In August 1865 there was daily skirmishing between the garrison and Mokau Maori who came down to compete for the cargo of the *Alexandra*. On 25 November a party of Ngati Maniapoto came along the beach from the north, exchanged shots on the beach below the redoubt, and later attempted to ambush Military Settlers who were cutting fern 200 yards south of the post (G16/7). In August 1866 Ensign Hursthouse was in command when 40-60 armed Maori passed through the district on their way north (G16/10).

Despite the remoteness, the garrison at Pukearuhe was reduced throughout 1866 and 1867. By September 1866 Captain Page was in command of 65 men (G16/10). At the end of the same month the departure for Patea of most remaining blockhouse garrisons in north Taranaki created a vacuum, filled by further reduction at Pukearuhe, 14 men from the post going to Okato, Tikorangi, Manganui and Mataitawa (AD1 66/4333).

By May 1867 a few men remained under the command of Lieutenant Gascoigne (AD1 67/1848). On 22 October 1867 the Taranaki Military Settlers were disbanded (Nankivell 1944:30), militia taking over at Pukearuhe under Gascoigne. Pukearuhe and Warea were now the only posts in Taranaki held strongly, and the only ones in advance of European settlement. Early in 1868 the remaining 25 men at both posts were withdrawn. At Pukearuhe three men took charge of the blockhouse (AD1 68/1353). In March the local command asked Wellington if one man might be kept on pay until the removal of ammunition and stores had been completed (AD1 68/793).

Reduction of the Pukearuhe garrison was accompanied by a general departure of Military Settlers from the district. In July 1867 one officer and 19 men were reported still cultivating land in the area (AD1 67/2634). When the garrison was withdrawn in 1868 the settlers unsuccessfully petitioned the Minister of Colonial Defence for its retention (AD1 68/3742). In October 1868 more settlers were reported leaving (AD1 68/3354). By the end of the year about 12 remained between Urenui and Pukearuhe (AD1 68/4943). In September an order was given that the blockhouses at Pukearuhe, Tikorangi and Okato be repaired, wells cleared out, ditches and banks repaired and fern cleared (AD1 68/3177). In November this was reported done although an earthquake had damaged the refurbished parapet and ditch at Pukearuhe (AD1 68/3851).

On 13 February 1869 Maori from the north killed the remaining Europeans at the post, comprising Lieutenant Gascoigne and his wife and three children, two other men, and the Reverend John Whiteley who arrived towards evening. They also burned down the blockhouse. An account is given in Cowan (1922-23 II:295-301). A manuscript, "Inquest Proceedings on those murdered at the White Cliffs", is held in the Taranaki Museum. The frontier was now drawn back 3 km to the Papatiki Stream at Waiiti and Pukearuhe was visited occasionally by patrols.

On 11 September 1872 Pukearuhe was re-occupied by Armed Constabulary from Waiiti Redoubt under Inspector Tuke (P1/19 Taranaki 1873). The redoubt was renewed and a new blockhouse built of single-storey barrack form (Figs 4 and 5). There were 38 A.C. at the post in 1873 (AJHR 1873 H-14:20), and the garrison was henceforth strongly maintained until the mid-1880s. As late as June 1884 there was one officer, four NCOs and 26 constables at the post (AJHR 1884 H-16:1). On 31 March 1885 the garrison stood at one officer, two NCOs and seven constables, with one NCO and nine men working on nearby road construction (AJHR 1885 H-4:7). The A.C. abandoned Pukearuhe on 26 November 1885 (P1 86/1092), after agreement with the King Movement opened up the King Country to European settlement

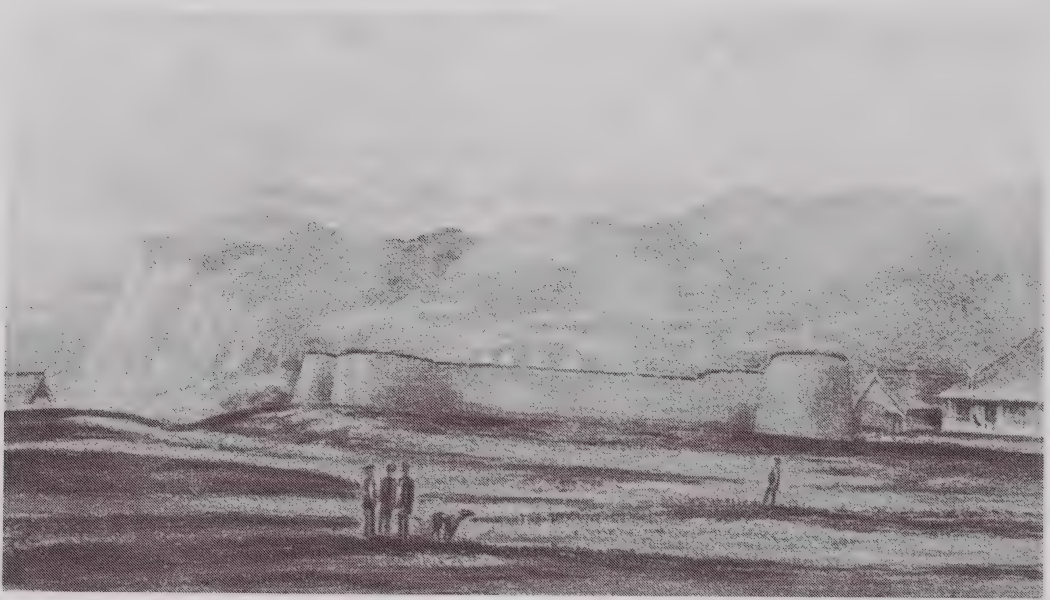


Fig. 4. Pukearuhe 1873, soon after it was reoccupied. Tents, but as yet no blockhouse, can be seen in the refurbished redoubt. (Thomas Good, Hocken Library, Dunedin.)



Fig. 5. Armed Constabulary, with piled arms and two cohorn mortars and shells, outside the 1872 redoubt and barrack building at Pukearuhe. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.)

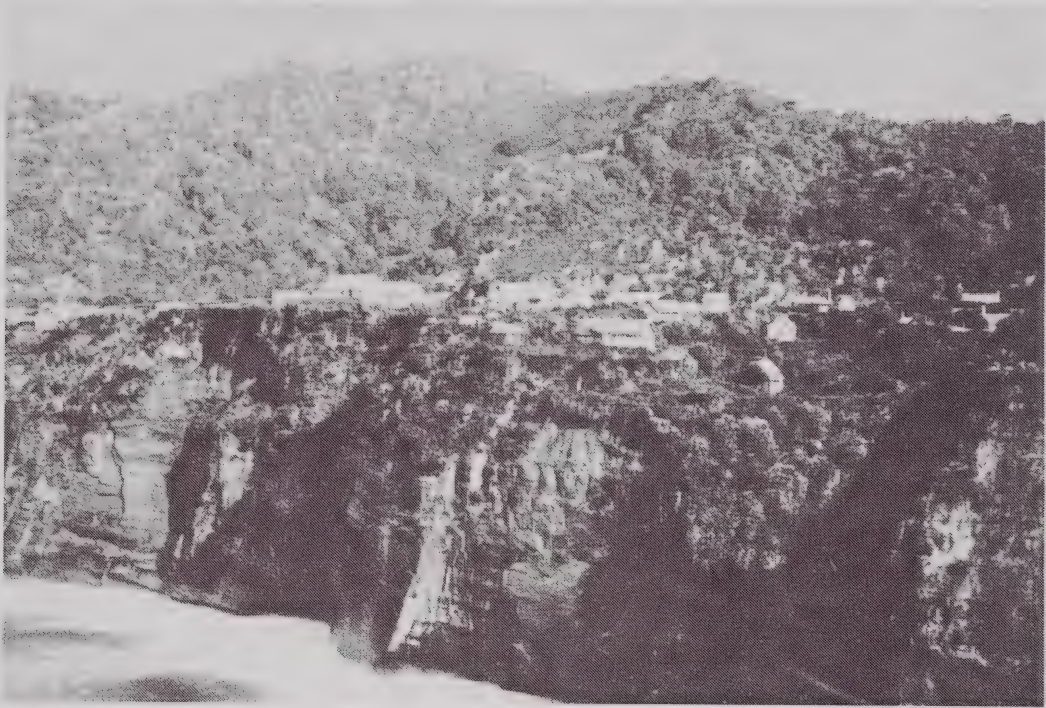


Fig. 6. Pukearuhe during the Armed Constabulary period, 1872-85. (W.H. Collis photograph, Taranaki Museum.)

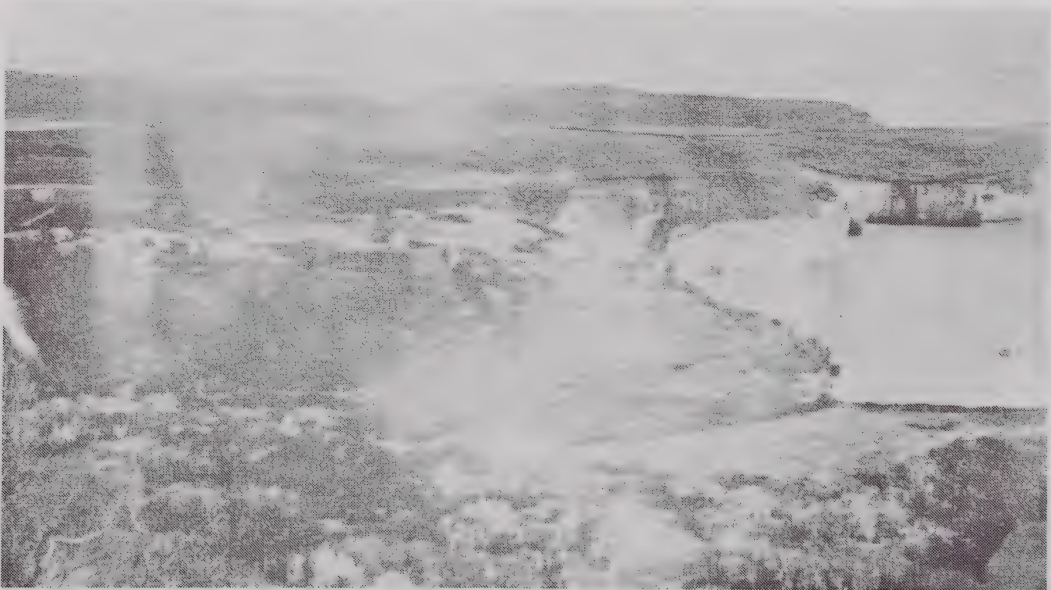


Fig. 7. Pukearuhe during the Armed Constabulary period showing the bastioned redoubt and settlement buildings. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.)

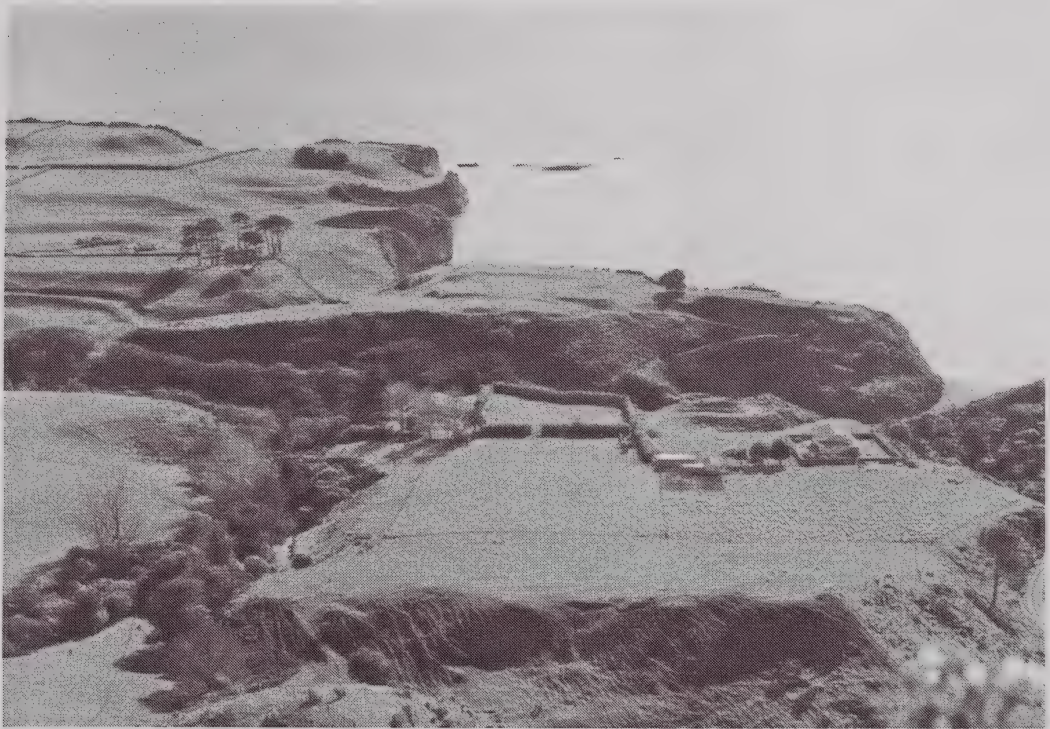


Fig. 8. Pukearuhe from the high ground to the east, 1968. Redoubt earthworks can be seen in the centre of the photograph, left of a pohutukawa tree. The old road runs down the hill to the stream mouth. The town of Clifton was laid out on the terrace beyond the trees and farm buildings, left. (Ken Gorbey.)

and removed the threat to Pakeha Taranaki's northern frontier.

During the Armed Constabulary period the Pukearuhe garrison was employed in road and bridge building, patrolling the nearby ranges, maintaining the fortification and quarters, and providing for themselves by extensive gardens on both sides of the Waikaramarama Stream. The settlement is pictured in Figures 6 and 7, and described by Brookes (1892:125-147).

The redoubt and settlement were at the north end of Pukearuhe Road on a steep-sided plateau between the Waikaramarama Stream and the sea, now an historic reserve in the ownership of the Department of Conservation (Fig. 8). The site had been a Ngati Tama pa, the old defences and terraces of which were altered for living quarters, especially in the A.C. period. The redoubt stood at the eastern corner of the central terrace to command the steep road to the beach and the way north.

The 1865 redoubt had five sides entirely flanked from three angles (Fig. 9). Entry was through one side and the north-west bastion. Inside was a two-storey loopholed blockhouse as outlined above. The A.C. rebuilt to essentially the same five-sided plan, but with greatly increased bastion defence (see Figs 4 and 7). The gateway was now in the middle of the seaward face. The new blockhouse was of single storey barrack form, without loopholes (Fig. 5).

In 1879 the redoubt was reduced in size (AJHR 1879 H-15:20). In the year ending 31 March 1882 a new ball-proof, loopholed blockhouse 18 feet square was built over the ditch at the north-west angle, as flanking defence for the west face (P1 82/1353). This stood until the

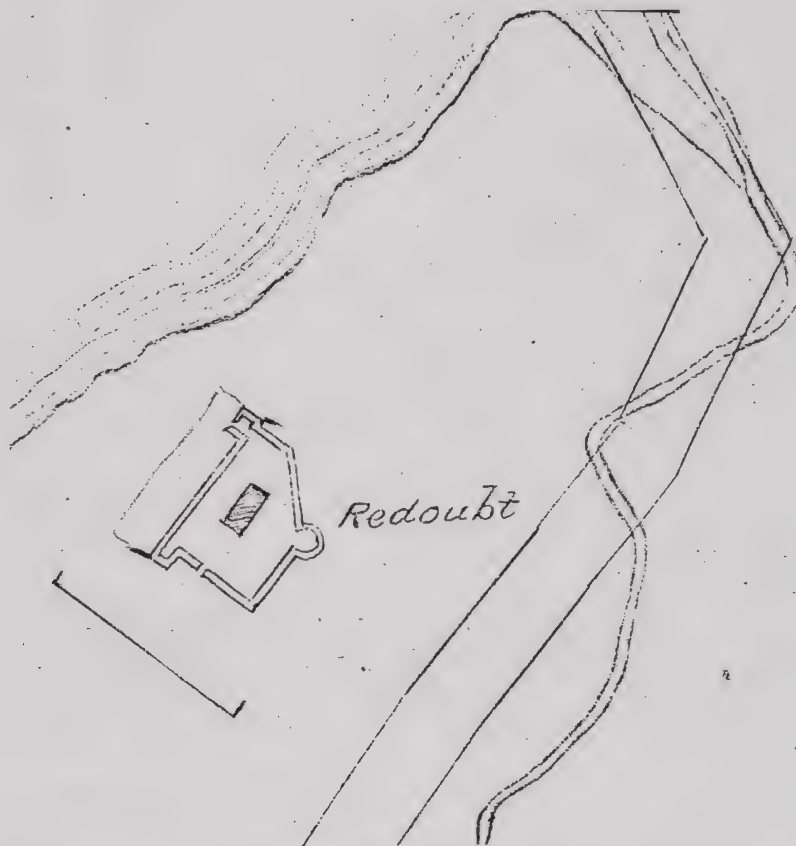


Fig. 9. Plan of Pukearuhe Redoubt, 1865-69. Taken from a map, "Town of Clifton Taranaki", September 1865, 3 chains to 1 inch (Taranaki Museum). North is to the top. In the Armed Constabulary period the work was more completely bastioned, and the only gate was at the centre of the north-east side. In 1879 the redoubt was reduced in size.

1930s enabling A.H. Messenger to draw the building for Cowan (1922-23 II:300). Archaeological evidence indicates a work ca 20 x 10-20 m in size. The north and east sides fall away to the old road; elsewhere cultivation has damaged the shallow remains of the defensive ditch.

The road to the beach is still in good order but for the beach end where it has slipped away. Between the central and northern terraces is a concrete hearth and other remains dating from the A.C. period, when there was here an astonishing bay-windowed villa built of raupo (Hammond 1979:17). Graves at the south end of the reserve post-date the military occupation. A monument to Whiteley and a stone marking the spot he was killed are a few metres from the redoubt. The Gilbert Track over the range into the Mimi River valley was largely destroyed when a gas pipeline was put through in the 1970s.

Excavations were carried out in 1968 on the route of the Kapuni gas line which crossed the southern terrace and two lower platforms. The report includes a map of Pukearuhe site (Lawrence and Prickett 1984).

TIKORANGI REDOUBT

After Pukeruhe was occupied two posts were established north of Waitara River to protect overland communication and prepare for settlement of the district. A newly raised volunteer force went to Tikorangi, and a Native Contingent under Captain Good to Urenui. A third post at Mimi River was planned but not established (AJHR 1865 A-4:55). Already in trouble over Opunake and White Cliffs, Colonel Warre was the subject of a further exchange between Grey and Cameron regarding Tikorangi (AJHR 1865 A-4:55-57).

The township and redoubt sites at Tikorangi were selected some days before the move to Pukearuhe, by Major Atkinson, at this time also Minister for Colonial Defence, along with the Native Commissioner, Superintendent and Provincial Surveyor (*Taranaki Herald* 22 Apr 1865). While Warre emphasised the military objective of maintaining communication with Pukearuhe (AJHR 1865 A-4:55), Atkinson sets out what was probably the more important consideration:

It having been determined by the Government to form a Military Settlement near Tekorangi [sic] on the north of the Waitara river, consisting of one hundred and twenty men, and also two settlements of loyal Natives at Urenui and Mimi, I have the honor to request that you will be good enough to inform me whether you see any military objection to the plan being carried out immediately. (AJHR 1865 A-4:55)

Two companies of Taranaki Militia Volunteers were specially recruited for the Tikorangi settlement, and were promised land in the district according to conditions set out in a broadsheet, "Conditions upon which land will be given to settlers on the north of the Waitara" (AD31/1). Captains Armstrong and Jonas were in command of the companies, with overall command in the hands of Captain Stapp who was Adjutant to the local forces in Taranaki (65/4373 in AD1 66/430).

On 19 June 1865 the volunteers crossed the Waitara River and began work on a fortified position on the hill above their town site (*Taranaki Herald* 24 Jun 1865). Stapp soon reported that,

... on arrival at Tikorangi I erected a Stockade one Chain and a half square with two flanking angles at opposite corners and have also thrown up a Ditch inside. One side of the Stockade abuts on a nearly perpendicular Gully and I have had the Bush cleared away for a considerable space on the Outside and still continue to employ some of the men at the same work so that with the arrangements we make daily I consider we are perfectly secure. I have had a Bake House erected from which we are furnished with excellent Bread. I am also having a well sunk which has reached 84 feet with a prospect I hope of soon reaching a supply of water. (AD1 66/430)

The two companies moved into the stockade on 7 July (Jupp Diary 7 Jul 1865). A blockhouse was completed by the middle of October (AD1 66/430).

On 9 December 1865 the Tikorangi settlers were told officially that the men of one company would not have land in the district unless they accepted hill country sections (Jupp Diary 9 Dec 1865). It was suggested that the unlucky men might be given land south of Stoney River (Jupp Diary 11 Dec 1865; AD31/1). On 16 January 1866 the companies tossed for Tikorangi, No 1 Company being successful (Jupp Diary 16 Jan 1866). In February Captain Jonas' company shifted to Te Arei Redoubt, over the river to the south (Prickett 1996:36-37), and were later settled on land at Patea (AD31/9 "Crown Grants to be issued to the Forces at Patea").

The garrison at Tikorangi Redoubt was rapidly reduced as the men took up their land. When Military Settlers from throughout north Taranaki left for Patea in September 1866, Tikorangi was one of only four posts to retain a garrison (AD1 66/4333). The last men were withdrawn in February 1867 (TMS Memo Book, 13 Feb 1867). The fort served as a parade post for military settlers of the district, was maintained for future use, as in September 1868 when orders were given that the blockhouse be repaired, the well cleared out, fern cleared and ditches and banks made good (AD1 68/3177 in 68/3742).

During the 1869 White Cliffs scare the post was reoccupied and strengthened. On 15 February one corporal and four privates of Captain Kelly's Bushrangers at Sentry Hill were sent to occupy the blockhouse (TMV Order Book, 15 Feb 1869). The next day Ensign Lawson was ordered to take command, making up the garrison to 25 from settlers of the district (TMV Order Book, 16 Feb 1869). On 19 February it was reported that, "fires have been seen at Mokau", and that it was desirable that settlers sleep in the blockhouse that night. Lawson was instructed,

...to raise the parapet around the redoubt, have a draw bridge made from the material at hand, don't delay in strengthening the place at once, make it as strong as possible by widening and deepening the ditch. (TMS Memo Book, 13 Feb 1867)

On 25 November 1869 the garrison was reduced to one sergeant, a corporal and six privates (TMV Order Book, 23 Nov 1869). From 15 March 1870 five men were retained on half pay (TMV Order Book, 11 Mar 1870), and on 1 November the remaining man struck off pay (TMV Order Book, 30 Oct 1870). Tikorangi was then kept as a militia parade post. In March 1872 the blockhouse was repaired (AD1 72/224 in 72/239). Ten years later, orders were given to Captain Armstrong for the return of all government property issued to the Tikorangi Volunteers by 15 May 1882, this signalling the end of Tikorangi's role as a frontier post (TMV Letter Book 1881-1891, 20 Apr 1882).

The Tikorangi Redoubt site is on top of the hill at the south end of Ngatimaru Road (Fig. 10), and was in good order when I last saw it in 1997. The associated military township was laid out at the foot of the hill, 1.5 km from today's village at the corner of Ngatimaru Road and the Inland North Road. A January 1865 drawing of Te Arei Redoubt also shows the tents, huts and flagpole of Tikorangi Redoubt (Prickett 1996:37).

The historical record is not clear as to the nature of the defences at Tikorangi. Stapp's 1865 report of a stockade with ditch inside suggests an unusual work. Later emphasis is on a redoubt and blockhouse. There is no sign of a stockade in the only known picture of the post which dates from January 1866. Archaeological evidence (Fig. 11) suggests a rectangular redoubt of classic form (defence at two angles covering all sides), next to the "... nearly perpendicular gully" of Stapp's report, thus taking up the position apparently first occupied by the stockade. This work is ca 22 x 17.5 m measured along the top of the eroded banks, and so would fit within Stapp's "... one Chain and a half square" (30 x 30 m). An economical interpretation is that the present earthworks are of Stapp's ditch within the stockade, that the stockade was later removed and earthworks then developed as the sole defence.

The blockhouse is likely to have been within the redoubt or stockade defences. The building is said to survive today as part of a farmhouse on Ngatimaru Road. A 10 m square earthwork, 40 m east of the redoubt, surrounds a depression 3 m in diameter which probably marks the 1865 well. On the scarp edge to the south is surface evidence for the semi-subterranean soldiers' living huts of the period.



Fig. 10. Tikorangi Redoubt. Aerial view to south, 1975.

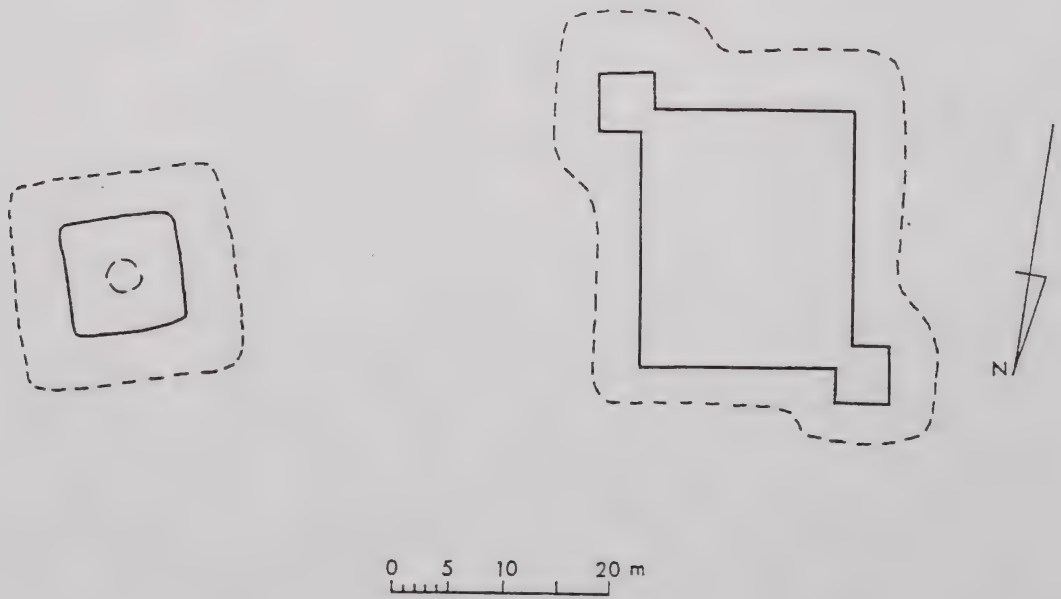


Fig. 11. Plan of Tikorangi Redoubt and outwork.

NO 2 COMPANY REDOUBT, ONAERO

The Tikorangi Block extended ca 5 km north from the Waitara River. The land beyond as far as the Mimi River was allocated to the Urenui Native Settlement (AD31/1). North of Mimi was the Military Settlers' Pukearuhe Block. In December 1865 the Chief Surveyor reported completion of the survey of 4000 acres at Tikorangi, but noted that 8000 acres were needed for the two companies (AD31/1). The miscalculation arose because half the block was unwanted, heavily bushed, steep hill country (*Taranaki Herald* 16 Dec 1865).

Seeing good land immediately to the north, which was apparently unoccupied, the men of No 2 Company under Captain Jonas moved on and built a redoubt 2 km west of the Onaero River. On 8 December they were ordered back to Tikorangi by the Minister for Colonial Defence.

I have the hr to reqt you will be gd enuf [sic] to inform me by what authority Capt Jonas removed his Compy of Tikorangi Settlers nearer the Onairo [sic] River and there constructed a redoubt ... Col Lepr will give immediate orders for the return of Cap Jonas' compy of Mila to Tikorangi. Before leaving their present camp they are to level any earthworks that they may have constructed. (AD31/1)

Later, as we have seen, the Tikorangi Block was won on the toss of a coin by Captain Armstrong's No 1 Company, No 2 Company departing, ultimately to the Patea district. Ironically, only a few months later, men of No 6 Company, T.M.S., were settled on land north of Tikorangi as there was not enough for them beyond Mimi (AD6/6 66/1755/1).



Fig. 12. No 2 Company redoubt, Onaero. Aerial view to north, 1975.

This unusual episode has left field evidence of a redoubt south of the Inland North Road, and 100 m west of the present Waiau Road (Fig. 12). The work is ca 22 x 24 m, with what appears to have been flanking defence at two angles covering all four sides. The earthworks have been greatly damaged, presumably initially by the destruction ordered in December 1865. There has also been stock damage. Three graves were noted within the old earthworks when the site was visited in the 1970s.

URENUI REDOUBT

The post at Urenui, like that at Tikorangi, dates from winter 1865, when it was put up to secure overland communication with Pukearuhe. Urenui was to be a settlement of "loyal Natives" (AJHR 1865 A-4:55). A work capable of holding 80 men was built in July by Captain Thomas Good and the Maori force (AD35/12), high on the left bank of the Urenui River on the site of an old pa called Pihanga. In early reports the redoubt often appears as 'Pihanga' or 'Te Pihanga' (sometimes 'Pehanga' or 'Pehangi').

Urenui's status as a Maori settlement was shortlived: by August 1866 it was decided to settle men of No 6 Company, T.M.S., who had missed out at Pukearuhe, between the Urenui and Onaero Rivers, the men being ordered to parade at Captain Messenger's house in Urenui on 3 January 1867, to select their town and rural sections (TMS Memo Book, 28 Dec 1866). The Native Contingent was by this time also settled on land in the district (AD1 67/2781).

Urenui Redoubt was held for many years by various Maori and European forces, at first Maori under Captain Good. As early as November 1865, 50 Tikorangi Volunteers were despatched to Urenui and Pukearuhe following a scare in the Pukearuhe district (G16/7). After the February 1869 raid on Pukearuhe, Cornet Bayly and 13 Taranaki Cavalry Volunteers were sent to Urenui to place themselves under Captain Good (TMV Order Book, 15 Feb 1869). A few days later Captain Messenger took charge at the post (TMS Memo Book, 19 Feb 1869).

In 1869 and 1870 Urenui was one of the strongest posts in Taranaki, and a key overland link to the Papatiki Stream frontier. The garrison included militia, Armed Constabulary and Native Contingent. In November 1869 the garrison was reduced to one captain, a sergeant, corporal and 18 privates (TMV Order Book, 23 Nov 1869). On 9 May 1870 Good was ordered,

From & after 12th Inst. the detachment stationed at Urenui will be reduced to 1 Capt,
1 sergt, 1 Corpl, 15 Privates, 2 ferrymen at Mimi, 1 scout at Kipikeri [sic], 1 scout at
Tupari, 1 ferryman at Urenui. (TMV Order Book)

Maori scouts at Tupari and Kaipikari were struck off pay in November 1870 (TMV Order Book, 30 Oct 1870).

The 1870 annual report of the Armed Constabulary puts the garrison at three sergeants and 18 constables, plus one captain, a corporal and six privates "Local Militia", and ten "Natives" (AJHR 1870 D-7:10). In 1871 there were two constables at Urenui (AJHR 1871 G-5:18), and as late as September 1872, six militia and 12 Maori under Captain Good (AD1 72/1187). A.C. remained at two constables until 1882 (AJHR 1882 H-14:11), and one man until final abandonment of the post in 1884 or 1885 (AJHR 1884 H-1:7). The redoubt was occupied for 20 years.

In December 1868 repairs to the fort cost £25 (AD6/13 68/613/1). In September 1872 approval was given for construction of two bastions, to "... make the redoubt almost impregnable, at present there are no angles or bastions" (AD1 72/1187).

An ink sketch from an 1865 surveyor's notebook shows Urenui before flanking defence was added, with the partly stockaded work enclosing two huts and a flagpole (Fig. 13). Figure 14

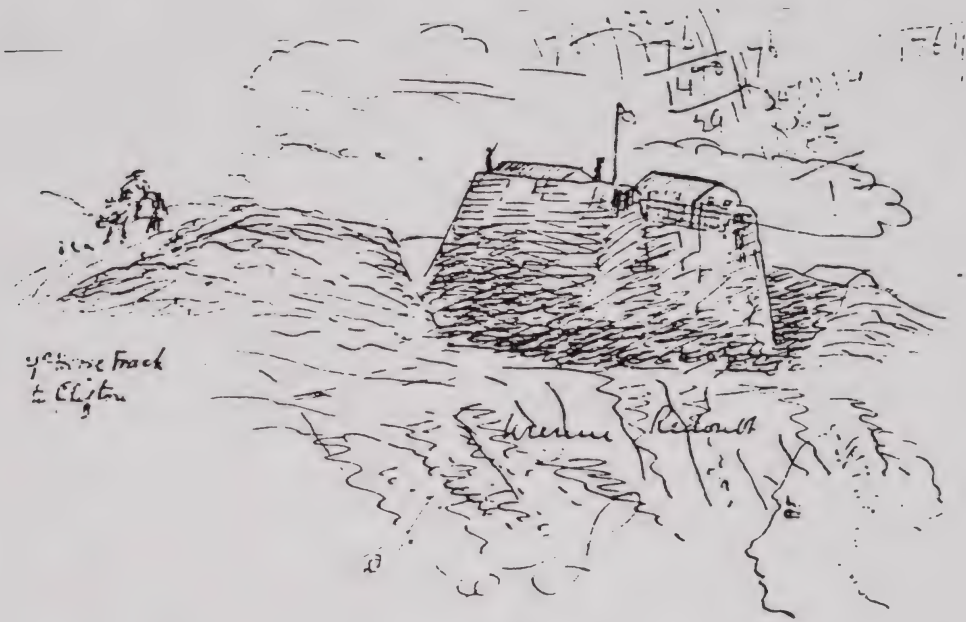


Fig. 13. Urenui Redoubt, December 1865. An ink sketch by S. Percy Smith from his surveyor's fieldbook. The caption at left states, "Horse Track to Clifton". (D.R. Rinckes.)



Fig. 14. "Urenui Redoubt held by Friendly Maoris under Capt'n Good", W.B. Messenger. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.)

dates from after September 1872 since a projecting bastion is shown at the northern corner. Paintings by Thomas or Fanny Good, held in the Taranaki Museum, show a bridge across the ditch to a narrow gate. Inside are buildings and a flagpole. The projecting sentry box is loopholed for defence.

Urenui Redoubt was high on the left bank of the Urenui river commanding a wide view northward, but a restricted view south and west owing to rising ground behind the post. Buist (1964:56) published a plan of the remains in 1961. The work was ca 24 m across the face overlooking the river, and extended 21 m to the south side which was 21 m long. A farm road has damaged the north-west side. In 1975 the exterior height of the wall was 2.8 m, while the interior height was 0.5–1 m. The wall was then in good order, but a vegetable garden had destroyed any archaeological remains within the earthworks.

Buist (1964:71) also notes: “Military redoubt on terrace edge near coast east of Onaero River mouth”. This site is 1 km west of Urenui Redoubt, at trig 10922 which is 42 m above sea level (Fig. 15). An off-square platform 21–17.5 m long and 14–12.5 m wide overlooks a wide area south and west. Charcoal and oven stones suggest Maori occupation, while pieces of glass confirm an historical date. An earth bank is indicated by a raised platform margin. The site overlooks ground—and the road north of Waitara—not seen from nearby Urenui Redoubt. This may not be a military site despite appearances. No historical reference has been found.

Other sites in the Urenui district deserve comment. The ferry was located where the present walking bridge crosses the river to the monument at the birthplace of Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck). An Arden watercolour of the ferry is held in the Taranaki Museum. In 1872 the first bridge, of puriri and matai piles and rimu upper part and decking, was built across the river here (P1 72/1031).

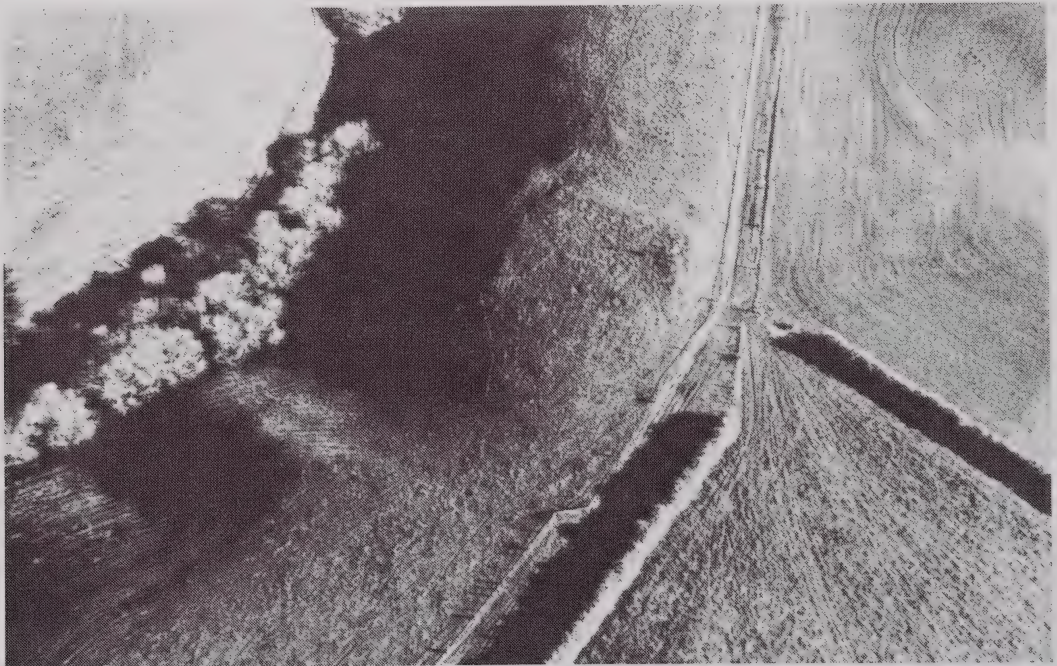


Fig. 15. Remains of a possible European or allied Maori fortification between the Urenui and Onaero Rivers. Aerial view to the east.

Kaipikari and Tupari, mentioned above as having Maori scouts in 1870, were Maori villages on high ground at the edge of hill country south and north of Urenui River. Kaipikari was just off the present Kaipikari Road at the top of the hill as the road rises off the coastal terrace. The trig Kaipikari, 161 m above sea level, locates the site. The settlement was attacked by the 43rd and 70th Regiments and allied Maori under Colonel Warre in December 1864. The *Taranaki Herald* (3 Dec 1864) reported, "... a formidable stockade, and half a mile of rifle-pits recently constructed. The enemy on the approach of the attacking forces fled."

Tupari overlooked the coastal terrace north of Urenui River. Surviving defences comprise scarps only (Buist 1964:65). In 1872 the settlement had a population of 61 under Pake, Tio and Tepatu (CD72/1152).

BEYOND STONEY RIVER

When Colonel Warre ordered British troops over Hangatahua (Stoney River) at the end of April 1865, he was encouraged by Grey, but without orders from General Cameron who was his commanding officer. The feud that resulted has been outlined in the section on Pukearuhe Redoubt. Warre's occupation of Warea and Opunake enabled him to take the war to rear Maori bases and kainga in the forest west of Mt Taranaki, and it secured the district north of Stoney River, soon to be settled by Pakeha farmers.

WAREA REDOUBT

Warea Redoubt was thrown up on 28 April 1865 by a force under Colonel F.H. Synge, 43rd Regiment, following an ambush of eight men of the 43rd and Taranaki Mounted Volunteers south of Stoney River on 22 April (*Taranaki Herald* 29 April 1865). Supervision of the layout and construction was by Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General in New Plymouth, Lieutenant C.M. Clarke, 57th Regiment (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 8 May 1865). When some of the garrison moved on to Opunake on May 2 Synge remained in command of a garrison of 170 men.

On 31 May 1865 the Warea garrison consisted of one field officer, two captains, eight subalterns, one staff, ten sergeants, eight drummers and 186 rank and file, 43rd Regiment, along with seven rank and file Taranaki Militia (probably Mounted Volunteers), and one captain, one sergeant and 15 men of the Commissariat and Transport Corps (AJHR 1865 A-5:63-64). With the addition of some artillerymen and an engineer it was much the same on 1 July (WO 0270 II:434).

The forested district inland of Warea Redoubt saw some of the last fighting of the Second Taranaki War. On 13 June 1865 Colonel Warre took out a force of 43rd and 70th Regiments and Bushrangers to attack Maori villages inland of the redoubt (WO 0270 II). Another skirmish took place on 28 July when Major T.E. Holmes was in command at the post (WO 0270 I:App. XXX). On 2 August 1865 a strong force marched from the redoubt under Lieutenant Colonel Colville, once more to attack inland settlements (WO 0270 II).

Warea was still held by 170 of the 43rd on 29 January 1866, when Major General Chute arrived on his return to the Patea district after marching through the bush inland of Mt Taranaki (AJHR 1866 A-1:88-90; and see Anon 1866:27). At Warea Chute took the opportunity once more to attack inland villages.

When the 43rd sailed for England in March 1866 (Levinge 1868:292) it was replaced in Taranaki by the 50th, a detachment of which was posted to Warea (Fyler 1895:286). The redoubt was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel F.G. Hamley from 24 March to the end of June (AJHR 1867 A-1:23). Hamley shifted to New Plymouth when he became



Fig. 16. Warea Redoubt. Aerial view to the south, 1975.

commanding officer in Taranaki in early July (NP Garrison Order Book 4 Jul 1866), leaving Captain Clarke, who had originally laid out the work, in charge at Warea (AJHR 1867 A-1:23). At the end of August there were still 145 rank and file at the redoubt (AJHR 1867 A-1:13). The 50th stayed on until 3 May 1867 when they were withdrawn from Stoney River, Warea and Opunake before leaving New Zealand.

Warea was then held by 25 militia under Lieutenant Charles Messenger (*Taranaki Herald* 4 May 1867). In September 1867 70 men of the Patea force under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas McDonnell marched along the coast in a show of strength. When they returned south, Ensign von Rotter and 25 men were left to take over from the militia at Warea (AJHR 1867 A-21:1-2). At the beginning of 1868 Warea was abandoned, virtually all north Taranaki military forces now being concentrated in New Plymouth (*Taranaki Herald* 1 Feb 1868).

In February 1868 an Armed Constabulary force was raised in Taranaki. Twenty-four men were sworn in and started for Warea on the 8th, probably under the command of Captain W. Newland (*Taranaki Herald* 8 Feb 1868). A month later Warea was abandoned for the last time when the A.C. returned north to establish headquarters at Sentry Hill (*Taranaki Herald* 8 Mar 1868).

Warea Redoubt was on the coast 5 km north of Cape Egmont, at the edge of a low terrace above the beach on the north side of the Teikaparua River (Fig. 16). Until the present main road was put through in the 1880s this was on the main route south, along the coast. In many places the old road remains easy to follow, especially where it is still legal road, as next to the

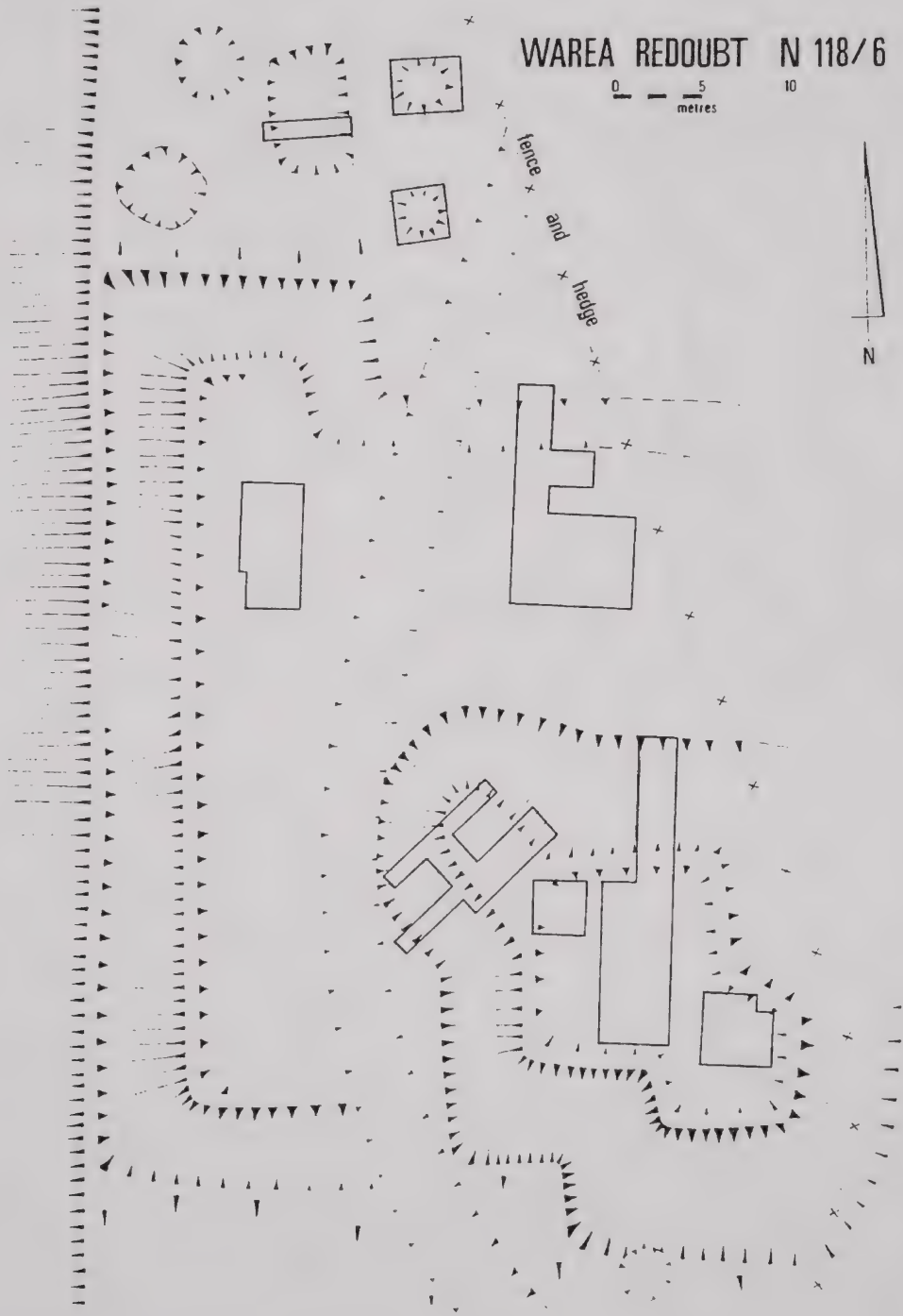


Fig. 17. Plan showing 1865 and 1867 redoubts at Warea, and areas excavated in 1978 (see Prickett 1994b).

redoubt. The earthworks of the old redoubt and associated camp were still in good order in 1997.

An earthwork 10 m square has 7 m square flanking defence at the south-east angle and a projecting platform at the opposite corner to flank the other two sides (Fig. 17). North and west are the remains of an earlier redoubt 40 x 30 m in size. The bigger work dates from 1865-67 when there was a substantial garrison of imperial troops at Warea. The smaller, which makes use of a corner of the earlier work, dates from May 1867. The history of these changes and a full description of related archaeological evidence are given in an account of 1978 excavations at the site (Prickett 1994b).

OPUNAKE REDOUBT

Although there was dispute as to who issued orders to Warre for his movements to Pukearuhe and Opunake, there can be no doubt that General Cameron had previously discussed establishing a post at Opunake.

Before leaving the Wanganui districts, the Lieutenant-General had informed his Excellency that though he did not consider it advisable to establish more posts northwards from the Waingongoro, a post might be established from the Taranaki side at Te Namu, about fifteen miles southwards from "Stony River". (WO 0270.I:137)

The Opunake force sailed from New Plymouth at midnight on Friday 28 April, on board the steam ship *Wanganui*.

The Wanganui having on board Colonel Warre, C.B., Major Russell, Garrison Adjutant, Mr Parris, Assistant Native Secretary, (with a canoe and five natives – the canoe hoisted on board) Captain Gibson, Harbor Master, with a surf boat and life boat (in tow) and crews – Capt. Cay, Lieut. Bally, Ensign Howard and 85 men of the 70th Regt., Captain Stapp, Ensign Lawson and 26 Bushrangers, 3 Artillery men and a 5¹/₂ inch mortar, Lieut. Ferguson and 2 men of the Royal Engineers, and Lieut. McMahon 14th Regiment, Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General, left the roadstead at midnight, and steaming at half speed was off Harriet Bay at dawn on Saturday morning, the weather being fine and the sea calm as a mill pond. (*Taranaki Herald* 6 May 1865)

The troops landed unopposed at Opunake. A stockade on top of the cliffs south of the bay was taken, the tents pitched in and around the stockade, and Lieut. Ferguson marked out the lines for a redoubt (*Taranaki Herald* 6 May 1865; Fig. 18). A watercolour by Colonel Warre probably dates from this day since it shows tents in front of a palisade and no sign of a redoubt ("Camp Opunake", Warre Sketchbook, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington). Warre returned to New Plymouth by sea the same night, leaving 120 men at Opunake under Captain Cay (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 8 May 1865).

Reinforcements marched south from Warea Redoubt on 2 May, Colonel Warre in command of 210 43rd Light Infantry, 35 Taranaki Mounted Volunteers, 41 Bushrangers and 77 Taranaki Military Settlers. Warre and the Mounted Volunteers reached the new redoubt at 3 p.m. on the 2nd, the rest arriving the following day (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 8 May 1865). In the next few days the redoubt was rapidly completed despite the fact that, according to Warre, "... Mr Ferguson chooses to make the parapets so much too thick causing so much extra work" (Warre Journal 5 May 1865).

Warre rode north again on 7 May, reaching New Plymouth in 12 hours. A strong garrison

Table 1. Summary of the May 1865 garrison at Opunake (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 8 May 1865).

	Officers	Sergts	Drummers	Rank & File
Commissariat & Transport Corps		1		13
Royal Artillery		1		8
Royal Engineers				2
43rd Regiment	10	12	6	180
70th Regiment	3	4	1	78
Mounted Volunteers	1	1		10
Military Settlers	3	3	2	66
	17	22	9	357

remained at Opunake (Table 1).

On 7 June Colonel Warre led a force of 43rd and 70th Regiments, Mounted Volunteers and Bushrangers, from Opunake to Waingongoro, the northernmost outpost of General Cameron's campaign out of Wanganui (AJHR 1865 A-5:55). This was the first land contact with European forces outside the north Taranaki area since fighting began more than five years previously, preceding by eight months General Chute's well-known march inland of Mr Egmont.

On 15 February 1866 more than 300 men under Lieutenant Colonel Syngé marched out of Opunake to attack Maori at the kainga, Ngapuketuranga, four miles (6.5 km) away. Four of the attacking force were wounded in the affray (G16/11). On 21 February Captain Horan went to Witiara, 10 miles (16 km) north, where he was joined by a force from Warea under Captain Talbot. Two days were spent destroying cultivations and burning villages in the area (G16/11). Clark (1896) gives an account of activities of the 43rd Regiment at Opunake.

The 50th took over in February 1866 (Clark 1896:246; Fyler 1895:286), and on 20 August there were still 103 rank and file at the post (AJHR 1867 A-1:13). In May 1867 the 50th left Opunake before returning to England. The redoubt was then given over to Wiremu Kingi Matakatea's people, to the great indignation of the Taranaki press (*Taranaki Herald* 13 Apr, 4 and 11 May 1867).

In the period after the Second Taranaki War Opunake lay outside the area of European control; but there was nonetheless some European settlement. Flax mills were established in the early 1870s, and Native Police under Mr Patricio Wilson occupied a post at Te Namu at the Otahi Stream north of the bay (NS71/472 in AD1 71/1338).

In March 1875 Opunake entered its second period of military occupation when 25 Armed Constabulary were directed there to assist the Native Police put down unrest among local people. They landed from the steamship *Napier* on 2 March, and set up camp at Te Namu (*Taranaki Herald* 3 Mar 1875).

In April 1879 the A.C. under Captain Tuke shifted to the site of the old redoubt on the south side of Opunake Bay (AJHR 1881 H-18:2).

A large amount of work was done at that time in removing buildings, stores, &c. Since the arrival of detachments from depot the men have been constantly employed

completing the buildings removed from the old site, building a weatherboard store, men's and cook houses, chimneys to library and officer's quarters, and stone oven, 8 feet by 6 feet, for baking bread, &c; and all other necessary works have been pushed on as fast as possible. (AJHR 1879 H-15:21)

The measurements of the reworked redoubt are given as "120 by 130 feet".

In 1880 and 1881 there was a considerable build-up of A.C. and volunteer forces in the course of the Parihaka Campaign. Many of the men landed at Opunake Bay, which was the headquarters camp for much of the campaign (AJHR 1879 H-15:21). Major Goring was in charge at Opunake for a time, making way for Colonel Roberts when headquarters were established. Other officers in charge of the Opunake station were Captains Morrison and Capel, and F.J.W. Gascoyne who was at the post from the end of 1884 to January 1887 (Maxwell 1935:79; Gascoyne 1916:124).

In 1881 it was reported that the redoubt at Opunake, "... could be held by a handful of men occupying the bullet-proof, loop-holed blockhouse recently erected at one of the angles" (AJHR 1881 H-18:2). On 31 March that year the A.C. garrison totalled 54 men (AJHR 1881 H-18:12). As late as 1885 numbers were much the same, with 18 men at the camp and 31 making up a road-making party (AJHR 1885 H-4:7). A year later A.C. numbers in the district stood at 51 (AJHR 1886 H-18:7). The 'old force' was disbanded on 1 September 1886 (AJHR 1887 H-5:1), and Opunake Redoubt abandoned probably early in 1887 (Gascoyne 1916:130).



Fig. 18. Opunake Redoubt, 24 October 1867. (Nelson Carrington, Fieldbook I.24, LINZ, New Plymouth.)

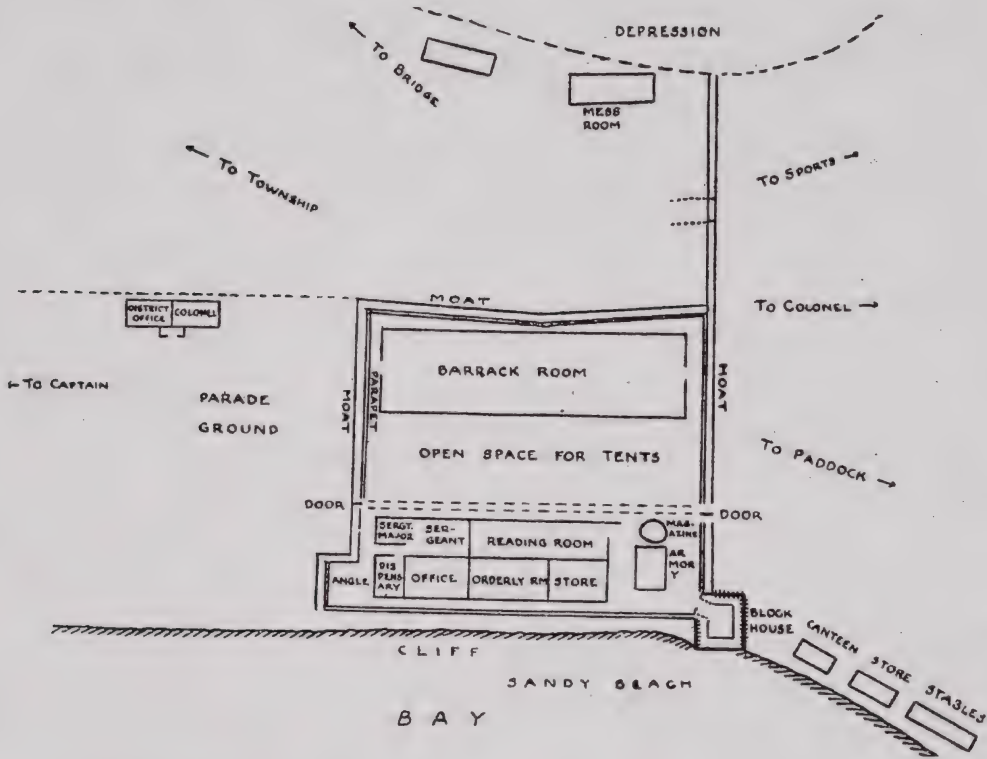


Fig. 19. Opunake Redoubt in the 1880s (Maxwell 1935:90).



Fig. 20. "Opunake Redoubt 1879". (Taranaki Museum).



Fig. 21. Armed Constabulary redoubt, Opunake, 1881, G. Sherriff. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; from Cowan 1922-23 II: 482.)



Fig. 22. Opunake Redoubt in the centre below the double wheel tracks. Aerial view to the north-west, 1975.

The 1865 redoubt made use of the cliff to the beach for one side, the other three sides being covered by flanking defence at one end (Fig. 18). In 1879 the Armed Constabulary threw up a parapet above the cliff, with flanking defence on the inland side removed in favour of the whole side being slightly angled to the centre (Figs 19 and 21). An 1879 photograph shows the refurbished redoubt a year before the Parihaka Campaign (Fig. 20). An 1881 drawing by Sherriff shows a loopholed blockhouse to have replaced the earth bastion left of the main gate (Fig. 21).

Opunake Redoubt was at the south end of Opunake Bay, between Layard St and the cliff above the power station. The earthworks were largely destroyed some time before 1935 (Maxwell 1935:85). The ditch of the 30 m square redoubt could still be traced in 1997, although it was not as clear as when I first visited in 1975 (Fig. 22).

TAKING UP THE LAND

Blockhouses were erected to secure land taken up by military settlers. Many were at town sites where each settler had an urban section separate from his rural land. North of New Plymouth, townships were laid out at Pukearuhe (Clifton), Tikorangi, Manganui, Huirangi, Mataitawa and Manutahi (Lepperton). South were Tuahukino (Koru), Ahu Ahu and Okato. Only Lepperton and Okato have survived as townships. Blockhouses at Waitara (Prickett 1994a:22), Huirangi and Mataitawa (Prickett 1996:38, 41-43) I have dealt with elsewhere. Pukearuhe and Tikorangi are described above in the history of campaigning. Te Arei Blockhouse dates from the 1869 raid on Pukearuhe and is introduced below.

OKATO BLOCKHOUSE

In January 1865 Colonel Warre and Major Atkinson inspected the district north of Stoney River for township sites (*Taranaki Herald* 21 Jan 1865). Atkinson returned the following month to fix the location of a military post and settlement (*Taranaki Herald* 25 Feb 1865). In winter 1865 the Military Settlers to be settled at Okato were attached to the field force campaigning out of Warea and Opunake. In early September they were ordered from Stoney River Redoubt to the new town site, where Colonel Warre had decided on yet another location for the blockhouse, to better command the country (AD1 65/2724).

Capt Carthew is requested to use every available man of his Det. in clearing a road from his present post one mile and a half inland in a straight line where there is an old "Pah" in the vicinity of which his Bhouse is to be erected. (TMS Memo Book, 4 Sep 1865)

Work began at once on a blockhouse, carpenters from among the Military Settlers being employed to finish the building before 31 October at the cost of £40 (AD1 65/2724). On 20 September the men were ordered to camp within the redoubt when it was ready and to continue work on the blockhouse (TMS Memo Book, 30 Sep 1865). The building was reported completed on 17 October (AD1 66/430).

Captain Carthew's men were struck off pay and placed on their land early in 1866 (*Taranaki Herald* 6 Jan 1866). On 26 September that year the remaining non-commissioned officer was ordered to lock up the post and proceed to New Plymouth en route for Patea (TMS Memo Book). Men were then sent to Okato from Pukearuhe (AD1 66/4333). The post appears to have been abandoned soon after this. It was briefly reoccupied in September 1867, after a minor scare at the southern frontier: four men were to be in the blockhouse at night and two on guard in the redoubt during the day, these men probably being drawn from settlers in the district (TMS Memo Book, 23 Sep 1867).

Repairs on the blockhouse and redoubt were carried out in December 1868 by Armed Constabulary and a party of newly enrolled Bushrangers under Captain Kelly (AD1 69/2080). In February 1869, following the attack on Pukearuhe, a sergeant and four men of the Bushrangers were sent to Okato (TMV Order Book, 15 Feb 1869). The next day Ensign Curtis was ordered there, to make the garrison up to 25 from settlers of the district (TMV Order Book, 16 Feb 1869). Throughout the 1870s Okato was held by a small A.C. garrison, the post being abandoned only after Parihaka was taken in 1881.

At first a blockhouse was built, within a redoubt big enough to hold it and tents for an entire T.M.S. company. In December 1868 the Bushrangers reported that they, "commenced the redoubt" on the 12th, the day after arriving at Okato (AD1 69/2080). However, in the Colonial Defence office report of 1869 the post at Okato is listed as a "Blockhouse and Stockade", capable of holding 30 men, with one officers, one guard and one store room (AD35/12). Repairs to the blockhouse in March 1872 cost £3/5- (AD1 72/224 in 72/239).

The post was described by Sergeant Lister, A.C., in September 1872.

Okato is a small redoubt which would accommodate about 30 men, surrounded by palisading of stout timber with no flanking angles. The block House inside is a weather Board building not bullet proof nor lined. It is in the form of a T having one large room and three smaller ones officers quarters, storeroom & Guard room it occupies an old Moarie [sic] position on the top of a hill and commands a view of the country for about four miles round. (CD72/1156)



Fig. 23. The Okato Blockhouse occupied the square platform behind the house on top of the hill, in the centre of this 1975 aerial photograph. The view is to the south.

In 1879 the post was again altered.

At Okato the redoubt has been rebuilt where required, and kept in repair, and is now undergoing considerable alteration and improvement. (AJHR 1879 H-15:20)

The Okato Blockhouse and redoubt were on top of the prominent hill inland of the present township (Fig. 23). The trig "Okato" (432 feet – 131.7 m) is at the north-east corner of the earthworks. Terraces on the side of the hill probably originate with the older pa on the site, modified to provide for soldiers' huts and other facilities.

An aerial photograph of 22 May 1950 shows the site before the present house and tennis court were put on top of the hill. Platforms encircle the hill below a square earthwork. In 1975 the redoubt walls were in good order, but the ground inside had been largely disturbed. The earthworks still appeared to be in good order in 1997.

Archaeological evidence indicates a rectangular redoubt 15 x 11 m with massive earth walls (Fig 24). There is strong circular flanking defence at the northern angle. A gap of 2.6 m in the north-west wall indicates the gateway. The blockhouse was presumably within the redoubt.

At an early stage the work appears to have been larger than shown by present field evidence. Later it may have included redoubt and stockade defences, perhaps like the first position at Tikorangi. At the end of its life indications are for a small earthwork defence.

TUAHUKINO BLOCKHOUSE

Tuahukino Blockhouse was situated at the Koru town site 3 km up Koru Road from the main South Road. It dates from April 1865 when Captain McKellar's company of Military Settlers was sent there from Timaru Redoubt (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 18 Apr 1865; see Prickett 1996:44). The blockhouse was built by the firm of Burton and Kelly, which tendered £165 for the job on 25 May 1865 (AD1 66/3019). It was completed early in July. Except for a corporal and four privates, Military Settlers were struck off pay on 30 June 1865 and settled on their land (AD6/4 65/4118).

In September 1866 the non-commissioned officer at Tuahukino was ordered to lock up the blockhouse and go to town en route for Patea (TMS Memo Book, 26 Sep 1866). Tuahukino was not re-occupied. In 1869 the building, with accommodation for 25 men, one officers' and one store room was reported in good repair (AD35/12). As late as January 1872 the Tuahukino Blockhouse was retained for further use (AD1 72/239). It is not known when it was finally given up. The post probably comprised a barrack building within a stockade, like that at Maraitawa (pictured in Prickett 1996:43). No archaeological evidence has been found.

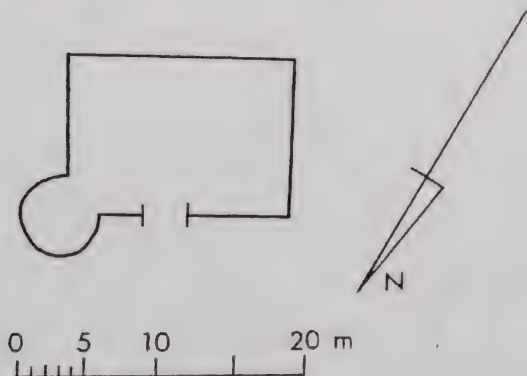


Fig. 24. Plan of earthworks at Okato Blockhouse site, 1975.

AHU AHU BLOCKHOUSE

Ahu Ahu Blockhouse was at the town site of that name at the junction of South and Ahu Ahu roads. The site was chosen by Colonel Warre in April 1865 (Warre Journal 7 Apr 1865). On 9 August 1865 the Lower Kaitake Blockhouse was ordered removed to Ahu Ahu for re-erection without delay (AD6/5 65/131/1; and see Prickett 1996:28). In early September the blockhouse was finished but for palisading (AD1 65/4299). On 17 October it was reported complete (AD1 66/430).

Military Settlers were placed on land at Ahu Ahu before the blockhouse was erected, and by 30 June 1865 were struck off pay except for one corporal and four privates who were to make up a garrison (AD6/4 65/4118). In September 1866 the non-commissioned officer at Ahu Ahu was ordered to lock up the blockhouse and leave for town, and ultimately, Patea. Ahu Ahu was not re-occupied, being maintained for some years only as a parade post for local militia. In the 1869 Colonial Defence Office report the blockhouse is described as having accommodation for 35 men, with one officers' and one store room (AD35/12). It was sold by auction on 13 January 1872 (AD1 72/239).

The Ahu Ahu Blockhouse was a stockaded fort like Tuahukino. The location is given on the relevant Block Sheet (Cape III (14/5), LINZ, New Plymouth). No archaeological evidence has been found.

MANUTAHU BLOCKHOUSE

Early in 1865 a blockhouse was built at Manutahi, south of the redoubt which was the first military post in the vicinity (Prickett 1996:41). The shift from redoubt to blockhouse relates to the survey of a military township here ('Lepperton' after the commander of local forces in north Taranaki), and the taking up of land in the district by military settlers. By 1 April 1866 the garrison was down to one N.C.O. and three men (TMS Memo Book, 22 Mar 1866). Manutahi was occupied for the last time during the 1869 White Cliffs affair. On 24 February Corporal Turner was in charge of eight men (TMS Memo Book, 24 Feb 1869). The last man was struck off pay on 24 November 1869 (TMV Order Book, 23 Nov 1869).

The "Block House on Old Pa" is marked on a 1906 plan, "Township of Lepperton/ Paritutu Survey District", and on the relevant survey blocksheet (Paritutu VII: the field plan is in Fieldbook W.3, p. 50, LINZ, New Plymouth). It was situated behind the present Lepperton School. No archaeological evidence has been found.

MANGANUI BLOCKHOUSE

In early 1866 a blockhouse was built at the Manganui town site on low ground at the confluence of the Manganui and Waitara Rivers. In February Privates O'Connor and Bradley of No 7 Company, T.M.S., were asked if they would sell, "... one or two trees now growing on your Town Section to Government for the purpose of Building a Blkhouse at Manganui" (TMS Memo Book, 17 Feb 1866). Work on the building began in March (TMS Memo Book, 12 Mar 1866).

On 14 May 1866 Manganui Blockhouse was held by a corporal and three privates (TMS Memo Book, 10 May 1866). Construction was finished in June. The initial garrison left for Patea in September, but in this case occupation continued, as at other isolated frontier posts at Tikorangi, Mataitawa and Okato (AD1 66/4333). Manganui was abandoned in early 1867 (TMS Memo Book, 13 Feb 1867).

Although town and rural sections at Manganui were to be occupied by No 7 Company, T.M.S., the land was not taken up and Manganui Blockhouse later was shifted to Te Arai.

Major Brown, who was in command of the Taranaki military district, wrote in June 1869:

The question of removing the Blockhouse originated with the Settlers who were in advance of Huirangi Blockhouse, and in rear of Manganui Blockhouse, and who offered to do the carting necessary to remove the latter. Under the circumstances that the Manganui Blockhouse was about two miles in advance of any settler to be protected, that it was ball proof in the sides, but untenable, being liable to a vertical fire, I recommended to His Honor the Superintendent that the buildings should be removed and re-erected [sic] at Te Arei. (AD1 70/834)

No archaeological evidence has been found at the Manganui Blockhouse site.

EGMONT VILLAGE BLOCKHOUSE

In the latter part of 1868 the Nga Ruahinerangi leader, Titokowaru, defeated colonial forces at Te Ngutu o te Manu and Moturoa in south Taranaki, to the alarm of European settlers over much of the west and south of the North Island (see Belich 1989). Settlers at Egmont Village doubtless felt more vulnerable than most, surrounded as they were by dense forest which extended south to the scene of Titokowaru's campaign. Probably the blockhouse was held by local settlers, many of whom are said to have served in the Taranaki campaigns.

The blockhouse was located near the corner of Junction and Egmont Roads, in what was to become the school grounds. From 1877 to 1879 it served as the settlement's first school. A corner of the single storey building may be seen behind the later school building in an 1880 photograph published in the school centennial booklet (Marsh 1977). The blockhouse is said to have been demolished early this century.

THE WHITE CLIFFS SCARE

A 13 February 1869 Maori raid on Pukearuhe resulted in a major scare on Pakeha Taranaki's northern frontier, and in renewed military activity throughout the region (Fig. 25). Much of this has already been outlined above in discussion of military posts dating from before 1869, several of which were re-occupied in response to the general alarm. In addition Waiiti and Papatiki Redoubts formed a new frontier 3 km south of Pukearuhe and other posts strengthened lines of communication north of Waitara.

TAKAPU REDOUBT

The first new post was at the corner of Otaraoa and the Inland North Road at Tikorangi. Sub Inspector Davis was ordered to Tikorangi school house on 27 February to, "... take immediate steps to throw up a redoubt around the building for the defence of the place" (TMV Order Book, 25 Feb 1869). But bad weather delayed matters (TMV Order Book, 27 Feb 1869), and it was 2 March before a force of A.C. under Captain Gudgeon and Captain Kelly's company of Bushrangers from Sentry Hill was at the site (AD1 69/2080). Next day a redoubt was marked out and work commenced.

On 5 April A.C. at Takapu were relieved by Captain McKellar's company of Bushrangers – enlisted at Thames and described as "Thames Volunteer Militia" (TMV Order Book, 4 Apr 1869). The A.C. appear to have returned, however, for orders were received on 20 April for the Bushrangers under Lieutenant Hursthouse and A.C. under Captain Tuke to move forward to Waiiti the next day (TMV Order Book, 20 Apr 1869).

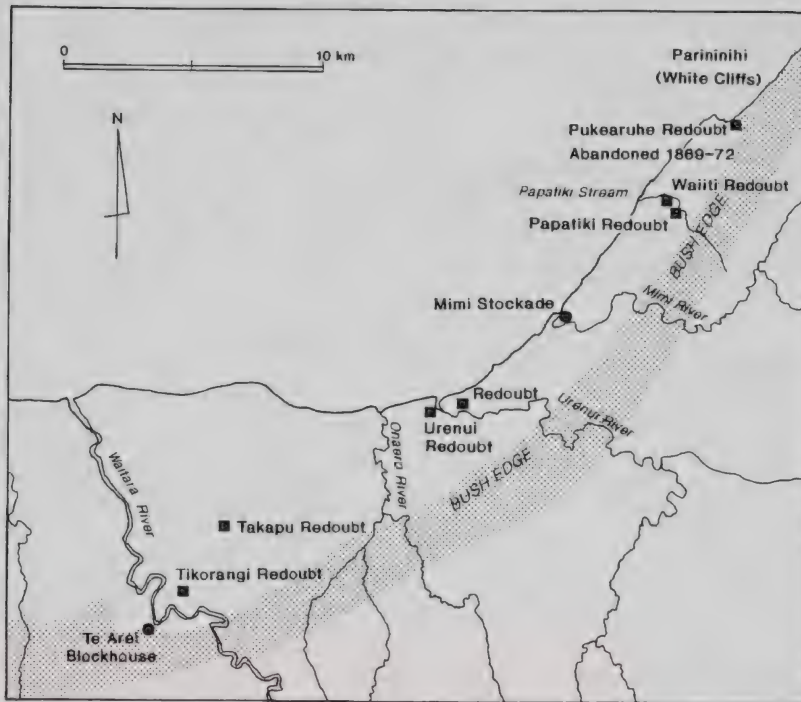


Fig. 25. Sites relating to the White Cliffs Scare, 1869.

In August 1869 the Takapu garrison comprised 18 Bushrangers under Sergeant Whitcombe (TMV Order Book, 11 Aug 1869). On 25 November it was reduced to one sergeant, one corporal and ten privates (TMV Order Book, 23 Nov 1869), and in March 1870 further reduced to five men on half pay (TMV Order Book, 11 Mar 1870). Takapu was abandoned on 1 November 1870 when three Bushrangers were ordered to rejoin their headquarters at Papatiki, and three remaining militia were struck off pay (TMV Order Book, 30 Oct 1870).

Takapu Redoubt was sited to secure the road north, and reassure Tikorangi settlers, most of them closer to the new position than to Tikorangi Redoubt on the hill at the boundary of occupied land. At this time the main road took the line of today's Inland North Road.

The redoubt is marked on the old series cadastral map (Waitara TN15), at the junction of Otaraoa and the Inland North Road, in the paddock at the south-east side of the corner. There is no surface indication of the size and shape of the earthworks, which are completely destroyed.

TE AREI BLOCKHOUSE

The Te Arei Blockhouse site was decided by Lieutenant Hursthouse of the Bushrangers in March 1869 (TMS Memo Book, 19 Mar 1869), and the Manganui Blockhouse shifted and re-erected in March and April (AD1 69/4231 in 70/834). Excepting New Plymouth, Te Arei was the last garrisoned post between Okato and the Waitara River, with one member of the local militia on pay at the post in 1870 (AJHR 1870 D-7:10). It was abandoned at the end of 1870 or in 1871.

The site is over Te Arei Road and the adjacent boxthorn hedge from Pukerangiora Historic Reserve, 50 m west of the 1864 Te Arei Redoubt (Fig. 26; see Prickett 1996:35-37). Surface evidence consists of a platform ca 12 x 7.5-10 m, with a shallow ditch to the south and ground



Fig. 26. Aerial photograph of the Te Arei Blockhouse site, 1975. The view is to the south. The site is under grass, right of the bend in Te Arei Road. Across the road, the ditches of the Te Arei Redoubt (1864) can be seen under pine trees, removed since the photograph was taken.

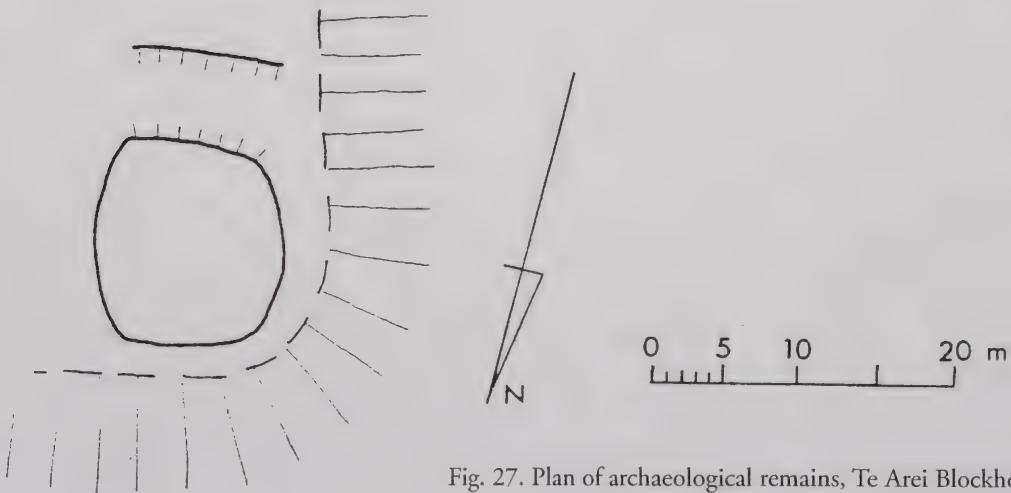


Fig. 27. Plan of archaeological remains, Te Arei Blockhouse.

falling away steeply to the north and west (Fig. 27). The remains were in good order in 1997. Among nearby farm buildings is an old shed with rifle slits in the weatherboards said to be from the blockhouse, demolished early this century.

WAIITI REDOUBT

Waiiti and Papatiki Redoubts were on the south bank of Papatiki Stream, 3 km to the rear of the abandoned fort at Pukearuhe. Both date from April 1869 when there were reports of 600 Ngatimaniapoto at Mokau, said to be about to advance and to occupy Tupari. Major Brown, who commanded local forces in Taranaki, wrote to the Under Secretary of Defence,

I therefore on the 6th April moved with the Armed Constabulary and the Bushrangers (one hundred and fifty strong) to the Wai-iti about two miles this side of Clifton, a line of defence that better secures our line of communication, and to a greater extent interferes with Ngatimaniapoto's line of communication from Mokau with Tupari and Natimaru [sic], than the former camp at Clifton ... (AD1 69/2700)

Captain Tuke was ordered to Waiiti Redoubt on 20 April 1869, and remained in command at the post until 1872 (TMV Order Book, 20 Apr 1869).

Waiiti Redoubt was occupied throughout by Armed Constabulary, but for a few weeks in winter 1869 when Captain McKellar and 37 Bushrangers were stationed there (TMV Order Book, 5 Jul and 9 Aug 1869), and again briefly in 1870. At first the garrison was a strong one; Tuke was ordered on August 12 to reduce the A.C. No 7 Division at the post by discharge to 120 men—100 foot constables and 20 mounted (TMV Order Book, 9 Aug 1869). In 1870 the Waiiti garrison was reported as including 40 A.C., 41 local militia and two 'natives' (AJHR 1870 D-7:10). In 1871 47 Armed Constabulary were at the post (AJHR 1871 G-5:18), and in 1872, 37 A.C. (AJHR 1872 G-14:18).

On 11 September 1872 Armed Constabulary under Major Tuke moved from Waiiti to reoccupy Pukearuhe (P1/19 Taranaki). This greatly reduced the importance of Waiiti: the 1873 A.C. annual report puts the garrison at five men, and states that, "... the old redoubt at Wai-iti has been reduced in size, to accommodate a few men in charge of stores, horses, paddock, &c" (AJHR 1873 H-14:4). In 1874 there were three men at Waiiti (AJHR 1874 H-12:20), this being the last time the post is listed in reports.

The two redoubts on the Papatiki Stream made up the forward northern frontier of European Taranaki until Pukearuhe was re-occupied. The posts were responsible for supervising Maori movements across the frontier, as well as securing the area behind where soldier settlers were taking up confiscated land. Patrols were carried out to Pukearuhe and eastwards into the ranges and the Mimi River valley.

Sergeant Major Horsford, A.C., describes Waiiti Redoubt early in 1872:

The redoubt at Wai/iti is on the upland, in an angle formed by a sharp bend of the Papatiki stream, it is commanded by high ground on all sides—at distances varying from two hundred to seven hundred yards. It is oblong in form, the dimensions, inside measurements, being 40 by 32 yards.

The parapets are of the average height and thickness, and are built in the ordinary manner, with alternate layers of earth and fern. The ditch is about eight feet wide and about nine feet deep. The place is strengthened by three small bastions, one of which is circular in form, and built with a fern revetment from the base of the scarp. The two bastions which are of the ordinary form are very narrow at the neck, and their gorge

scarcely admits of the entrance of one man at a time, they are furnished with port holes which command the ditch.

The entrance to the Redoubt, which is on the south face, is covered by a traverse of earth, and a slab palisading is used to block up the gate at night. A gangway of earth affords a passage across the ditch, and this gangway is rendered safe for passengers by means of handrails on either side, these handrails however, are objectionable as fixtures, as they can be made use of as a sort of step on to the parapet.

A serviceable drawbridge, to work with ropes and pulleys, would be a much simpler and safer mode of closing the redoubt than the present.

The men are quartered in large and comfortable whares of raupo, and there is a good well inside the redoubt. (CD72/1151)

The Taranaki Museum holds an important group of four watercolours of the two redoubts by New Plymouth artist F.H. Arden. Figure 28 shows both works; another depicts only Waiiti Redoubt. The other two Arden paintings show Papatiki Redoubt (see Fig. 31).

Archaeological remains of Waiiti Redoubt are immediately above Pukearuhe Road 100 m north of the Waiiti Road corner (Fig. 29). In the 1970s the earthworks of the 1872 work were in good order, while outside, the larger 1869 work could be seen despite having been levelled for cultivation. At the southern angle of the early redoubt is the round bastion mentioned in Horsford's report. Huts and other buildings outside the redoubt could no longer be located from surface evidence. Pits which may relate to the A.C. period can be seen in the road cutting 50 m from the old redoubt. In 1997 pine trees had been planted on the site, threatening its long-term survival.



Fig. 28. Waiiti Redoubt, with Papatiki Redoubt at left rear. (F.H. Arden, Taranaki Museum.)

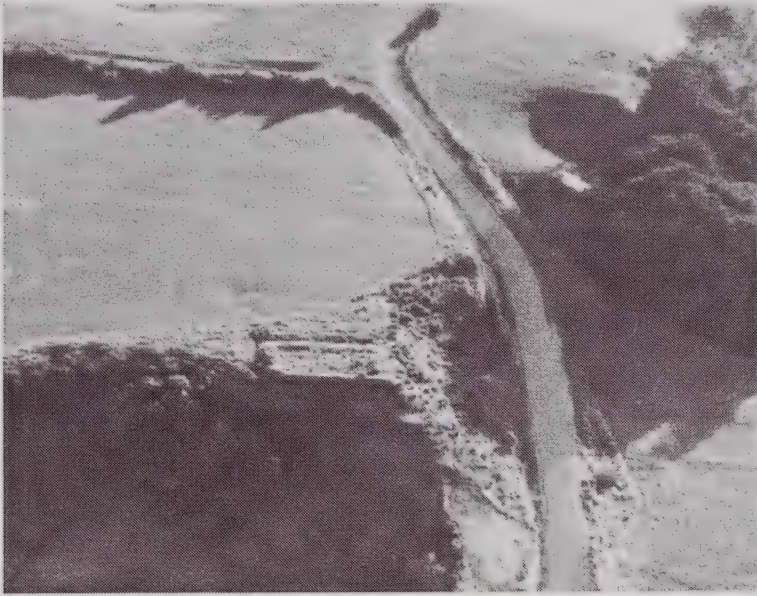


Fig. 29. Aerial view of Waiiti Redoubt, looking south, 1975. The remains of the destroyed part of the original work can be seen under short grass beyond the smaller, late redoubt. At right is Pukearuhe Road.

The surviving redoubt parapet was 800 mm high when visited in 1975, and unusually distinct for Taranaki works. The area enclosed is 25 x 11.5-14.5 m (Fig. 30). A causeway crosses the 5 m wide ditch at the south-west side to an entrance which is now 2.5 m wide. At the south-east side the ditch is 9 m in width, presumably following the reduction in redoubt size here from 32 m to 15 m. A drain crosses the interior of the work. At the northern corner an unusual buttress extends out 7 m, to add strength to this angle bounded at both sides by a steep scarp. The well, which would have been inside the 1869 work, appears to have ended up in the ditch on the north side of the causeway.

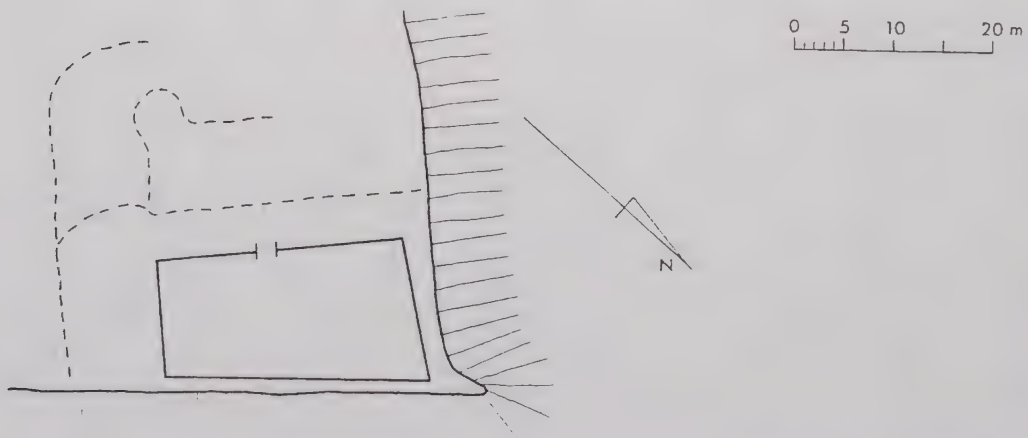


Fig. 30. Plan of Waiiti Redoubt.

PAPATIKI REDOUBT

Papatiki Redoubt was thrown up at the same time as Waiiti. It was occupied throughout by Taranaki Bushrangers, a volunteer force raised at the end of 1868 in the Thames goldfield, presumably in response to Titokowaru's successful campaign in south Taranaki. It is not clear who was initially in charge at the post: it may have been Captain Kelly, who commanded the Bushranger company. By June 1869 Captain W.B. Messenger was in command and remained so until Papatiki was abandoned.

The first reference to "Camp Papatiki" is given in District Orders for 8 September 1869 (TMV Order Book); until then there is some confusion in the records as the name 'Waiiti' is applied to both redoubts.

The size of the first Bushranger force at Papatiki is not known. A reduction to 50 men was ordered in August 1869:

Captain Messenger will immediately on receipt of this order reduce the Bushrangers to 50 not including himself & Ens Johnson. Capt Kelly & all above 50 will be released from duty and struck off pay from the 12th Inst. Capt Messenger will be careful to select the most efficient men and those who know the country best & are the best bush men. 3 Serjts & 2 Corporals are to be retained and included in the fifty. (TMV Order Book, 9 Aug 1869)

By 31 March 1871 the Bushrangers at Papatiki were down to two officers and 29 men, the total force at the two posts now being 65 officers and men.

Papatiki Redoubt was abandoned at the end of 1871.



Fig. 31. Papatiki Redoubt. (F.H. Arden, Taranaki Museum.)

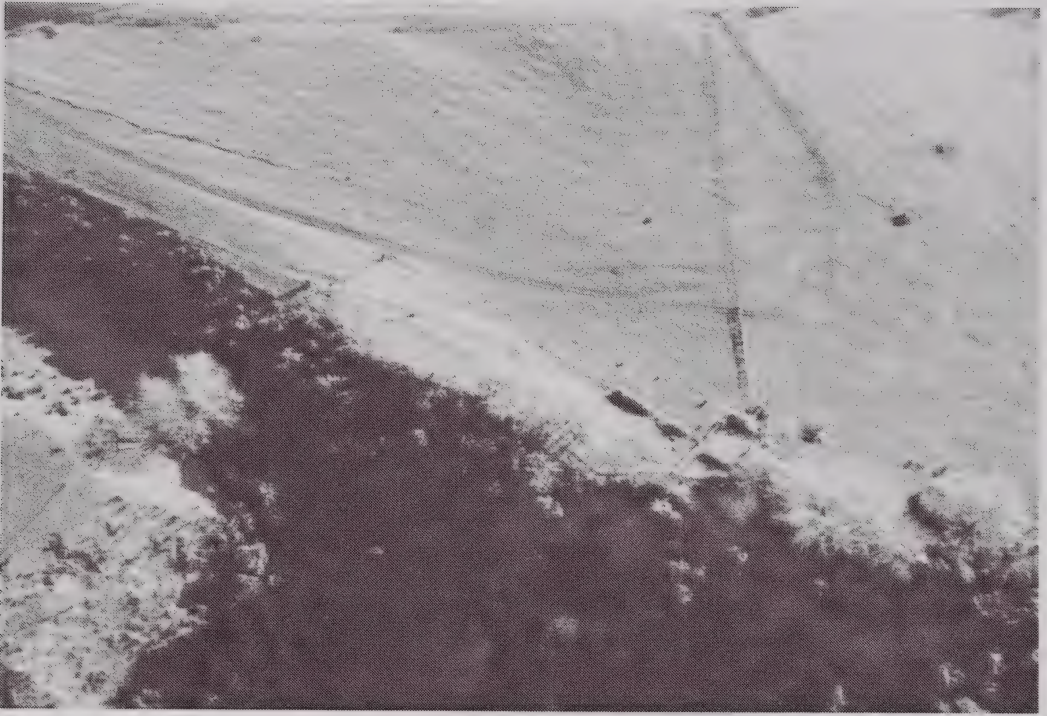


Fig. 32. Papatiki Redoubt. Aerial view to the north-west, 1975. The redoubt is in the centre of the picture, above the steep bank to the south.

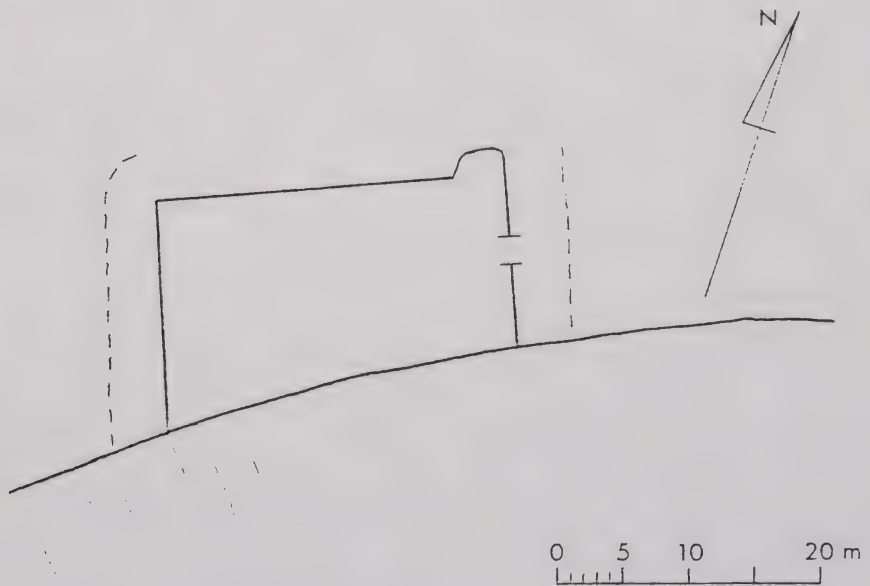


Fig. 33. Plan of Papatiki Redoubt.

In accordance with instructions received from Government the whole of the Bushrangers are to be struck off pay, except Captain Messenger 1 serjeant and 7 Privates and the 2 Natives who are to be retained to do duty with the A.C. at Wai/iti.

Previous to the men being struck off pay Captain Messenger will employ them to throw down the Redoubt at Papatiki. (TMV Order Book, 16 Dec 1871)

A contemporary picture shows a basically rectangular work, with flanking defence at the left rear to cover the north end and entrance-way and also near one end of the long side (Fig. 31). Inside are huts and tents; outside are also some huts. A second picture by the same artist depicts the south end, with flanking defence as at the north end. Semi-subterranean huts dug into the hillside show the Bushrangers to have had the same approach to providing accommodation as imperial and local troops in earlier campaigns. Cowan (1922-23:485) has published a sketch of Papatiki Redoubt by W.B. Messenger.

Papatiki Redoubt was ca 300 m south-east of Waiiti Redoubt, on a low ridge with a steep drop to the Papatiki Stream behind. The remains can be seen today 50 m east of Waiiti Road, 200 m from the Pukearuhe Road turn-off (Fig. 32).

The site was in good condition in 1997. The earthworks may have changed little since the work was thrown down in December 1871. The redoubt is 22.5 x 16 m in plan (Fig. 33). Flanking defence shown in the Arden sketches is still visible on the ground. A 4 m wide ditch surrounds the work except at the rear where the wall drops straight off down a steep bank to the stream. The sites of dug-out soldiers' huts can be seen south of the fortification.

A.C. REDOUBT NORTH OF URENUI RIVER

In the winter of 1869 a small redoubt was thrown up on the north bank of Urenui River to command the northern approaches to the Urenui ferry. Any name attached to the post is not known.

The history of the post is summed up by three district orders. On 2 June 1869:

Capt Messenger will direct Capt Tuke Commdg A.C. to detail Fifty men including proportion of non Commissioned Officers under Sub Inspector Capel to proceed to Urenui on Monday next the 7th Inst & occupy a redoubt north of the Urenui River. Lieut Hursthouse T.M. Actg Engineer Officer will superintend the work ordered to be carried out & Sub Inspector Capel is to furnish working parties as requested by him. (TMV Order Book, 2 Jun 1869)

On 2 July 1869:

Inspector Tuke is directed to instruct Sub Inspector Capel and 25 men to join Head Quarters at Wai-iti to morrow the 3rd Inst—weather permitting—a cart must be sent either to night or to morrow morning (to suit the tide) & convey the tents &c required. (TMV Order Book, 2 Jul 1869)

The post appears to have been abandoned in early August: "Sub Inspector Capel will march his Dett to morrow the 10th Inst. & join head quarters at Wai-iti" (TMV Order Book, 9 Aug 1869). The redoubt was thrown up by 50 men on 7 June, the garrison halved a month later and the post abandoned on 10 August.

The redoubt occupied a commanding site on the spur seaward of Urenui Beach Road, 100 m west of where the road dips down the hill (Fig. 34). The present road follows

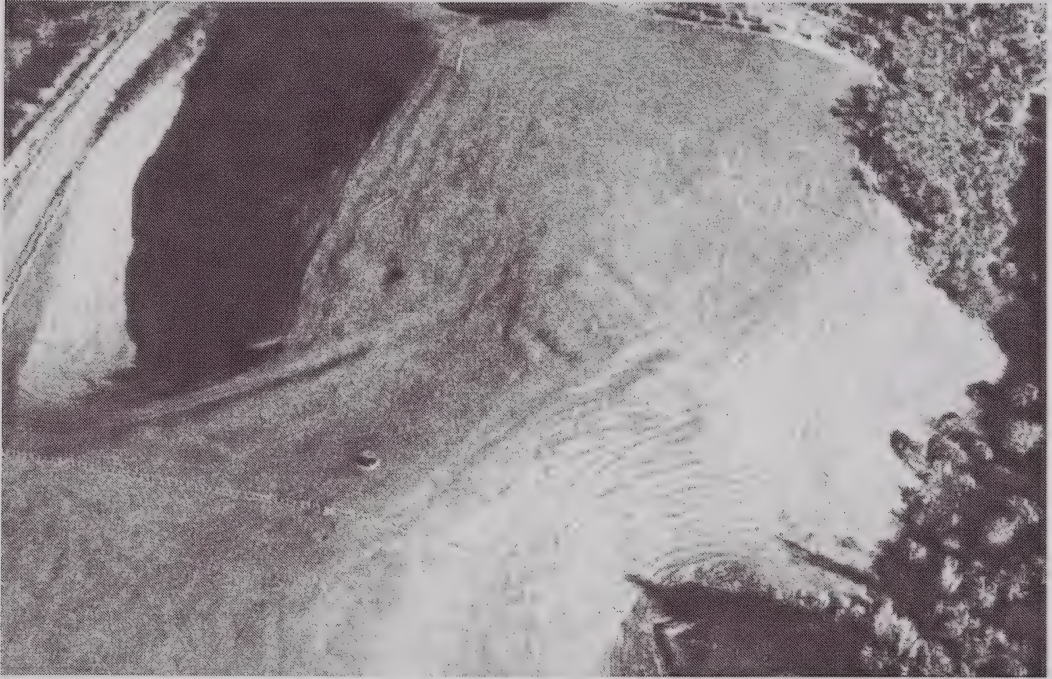


Fig. 34. Armed Constabulary redoubt at Urenui's northern approaches, 1975. Aerial view to the west.

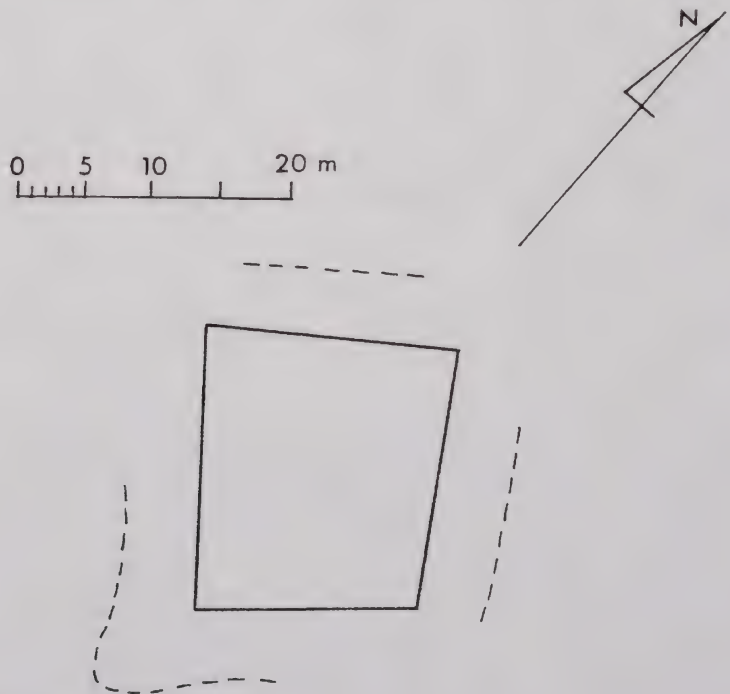


Fig. 35. Plan of A.C. redoubt, Urenui.

approximately the line of the old main road north of Urenui, which crossed the river by ferry at the site of the Te Rangi Hiroa memorial. In 1975 the site could be seen on the ground and from the air despite cultivation. It did not appear to have suffered further damage when seen in 1997. Surface evidence is of an off-square work ca 20 x 18 m without flanking defence (Fig. 35).

MIMI STOCKADE

In the 1860s the route north crossed the Mimi by ferry at the river mouth. In December 1866 a blockhouse was authorised north of Mimi but this appears never to have been built (AD6/6 66/2208/1). After the raid on Pukearuhe a stockade was built on the north bank of the Mimi to house ferrymen and protect the crossing, and to accommodate A.C. working parties in the area.

Just when the Mimi Stockade was built is not clear. On 24 February 1869 £100 was authorised for its construction (AD1 69/1112 in 70/3085). A 9 March minute, however, states that, "... the stockade at Mimi is not to be erected without further specific directions" (AD1 69/1310 in 70/3085). These directions have not been found.

An added difficulty in dating the work is that Maori at Mimi were put on half-pay after the White Cliffs raid as the only remaining force loyal to the government north of Urenui River (AD1 69/1792). (They are referred to as 'Chatham Islanders', being Ngati Mutunga who returned from there in 1868.) When a Maori garrison is reported at Mimi, this is likely to refer to these men living in existing settlements in the district. March 1872 reports, which describe the military landscape in north Taranaki, show no stockade at Mimi (P1/14 in CD72/1159).

The Maori volunteer force enlisted under Ihaia. District orders for 9 August 1869 include,

Natives except Ihaia & 19 other to be struck off pay from 13th Inst. & will be distributed as follows 6 at Mimi, 2 at Kaipikeri, & 2 at Tupari, Ihaia & 9 at Wai-iti. (TMV Order Book, 9 Aug 1869)

On 20 December 1869 district orders stated that only two ferrymen are to be retained on pay, from among Maori volunteers of "Ihaia's force" (TMV Order Book).

About the end of 1874 work began on a bridge over the Mimi. This is likely to date the establishment of the Mimi Stockade.

On the East Bank of the Mimi River, a party averaging 8 Eight ft constables have been stationed for over 18 mos... employed in bridging the river, a work of importance and no little difficulty, and in cutting the approaches thereto and continuing the road towards White Cliffs. (P1/30 Taranaki 1877)

This bridge was situated where Pukearuhe Road now crosses the river. In July 1877 it was reported that the Mimi working party had shifted to Waitoitoi (P1/34 271/77 Taranaki 1877), which may signal the abandonment of Mimi Stockade: the ferry was no longer in use and the line of road now followed the present route some distance inland.

Mimi Stockade is shown on the old series cadastral map (Mimi TN15). It was on a spur, which runs down to the north side of the Mimi River mouth (Fig. 36). The stockade was well sited to command the crossing at the river mouth, but surprisingly was overlooked by higher ground a few metres away on the same spur. In the 1970s, intact archaeological evidence was of a 6 x 8 m stockade platform surrounded by an infilled defensive ditch ca 4 m across (Fig. 37). A 1997 aerial reconnaissance showed that the remains were completely destroyed by recent earthworks for a house on the site.



Fig. 36. The remains of Mimi Stockade can be seen in the centre of this 1975 aerial view to the south-west, at the end of the spur above the river mouth.

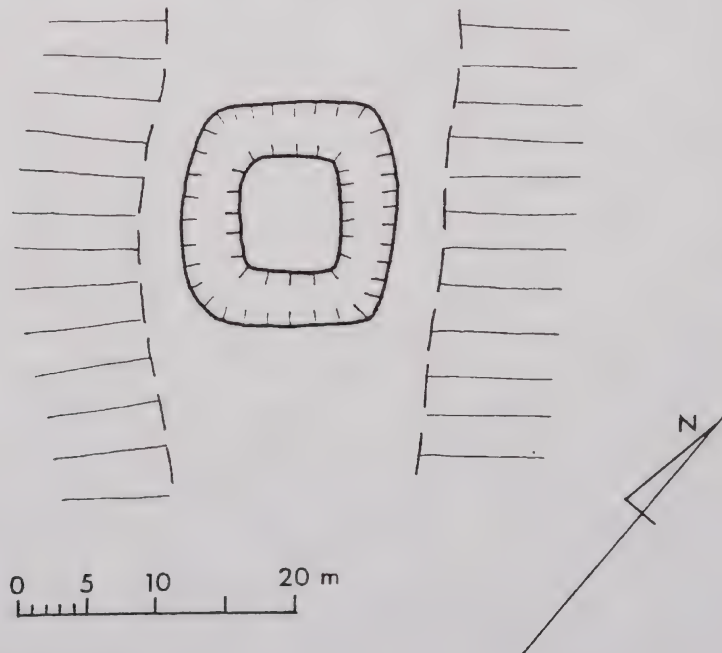


Fig. 37. Site plan of Mimi Stockade, 1975.

DISCUSSION

British Army and colonial fortifications in north Taranaki in the years 1865-69 are part of a larger picture of European fortified works and military strategy in the region dating from 1855 to the early 1880s. In the 1860s the struggle between Maori and European falls into three parts: the First Taranaki War of 1860-61, Second Taranaki War of 1863-66, and what I have called the 'White Cliffs Scare', 1869. Analysis of the role of fortifications requires a review of the 1860s as a whole, for which my two earlier articles (Prickett 1994a, 1996) also provide data.

At first, field works were concerned mostly with prosecution of the war by campaigning European forces - taking the war to the enemy and closing off the war theatre in north Taranaki to Maori reinforcements. From 1864 they were increasingly employed in the occupation of Maori land. This was the strategy by which the war was to be won, and at the same time Taranaki settlers' ambition for land would be realised.

THE FORTIFICATIONS

Thirty-one European fortifications date from the First Taranaki War, two being established by 1860. More than 50 fortified posts were employed at some time during the second war and the years to 1869, including those first put up in the war of 1860-61. Throughout the 1860s British Army and colonial forces in north Taranaki put up more than 70 fortified works in prosecuting the war against Maori and securing the frontier of European settlement. Table 2 summarises the works in terms of who was responsible, their initial purpose, and the form they took.

In the First Taranaki War and first year of the second war most forts were put up and held by British troops. Nine "shared works" in Table 2 are the blockhouses around New Plymouth occupied by troops and by local forces (Prickett 1994a:37). Local men were solely responsible only for the settler stockades at Omata and Bell Block. In the first war British strategy sought to defeat Maori forces in the field, and most fortifications were put up in campaigning situations. Many were tactical works, aimed at securing a battlefield advantage, in which they were unusual not just in Taranaki but in New Zealand as a whole.

At the start of the second war imperial troops again played the major role in taking the war to the enemy. Local forces were also responsible for campaign works at this time, often in conjunction with the forward movement of British troops. It was only in winter 1864 when blockhouses were erected in the districts behind New Plymouth that garrison or frontier works began to outnumber campaign fortifications, to reflect a changed European strategy. The struggle for Taranaki was now to be won by military occupation of Maori land. In the following year local forces put up blockhouses throughout the region to give security to military settlers.

The 1869 fortifications are the work of local forces only. Works of this group are difficult to place as campaign or frontier posts since they served both purposes, as indeed did other positions in the years before. Many redoubts were first put up in campaign situations, later taking on a frontier role. In general, frontier works in Table 2 refer only to those erected to secure or make safe the European farming frontier on previously acquired or confiscated land.

Table 2 shows the change from British Army to colonial works over the 1860s, and also a shift from campaigning works to fortifications designed to secure the European farming frontier. Most British Army works were employed in taking the war to the enemy, colonial works were used mostly in frontier defence.

In Table 2 can also be seen the relative numbers of earthwork redoubts and timber works. This relates to their use as campaign or frontier works. Redoubts were suited to the former: they could be thrown up quickly—under fire if necessary—and could accommodate

Table 2. European field works in north Taranaki, 1860-69, contrasting: 1. those put up by British troops and local forces; 2. campaigning works and those erected for a garrison or frontier role; and 3. earthwork redoubts and timber works (including stockades and blockhouses).

	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	TOTALS
1. Erected by:											
British troops	10	8		3	7	4					32
Local forces	2			1	10	9	1		1	6	30
Shared works	9										9
2. For the purpose of:											
Campaigning	8	8		4	11	4					35
Garrison and frontier roles	13				6	9	1		1	6	36
3. In the form of:											
Redoubt	6	7		3	8	7				4	35
Timber work	15	1			7	6	1		1	2	33
Combined work				1	2						3
TOTALS	21	8		4	17	13	1		1	6	71

comparatively large bodies of men. Most were the work of British troops, since it was they who were largely involved in the search for battlefield success in 1860-61 and the outward push of the campaigns of 1863-65. In later years more use was made of timber works, erected and manned by local forces. Blockhouses, stockades or combined blockhouse and stockade defence took days or weeks to erect, and were commonly used where a long-term role was envisaged for a small garrison. Timber works made secure the expanding European farming frontier.

Many British Army works of the Second Taranaki War were the responsibility of one Royal Engineer officer. Lieutenant Charles John O'Neill Ferguson was commissioned on 1 October 1857 (Hart 1862), so is likely to have been in his twenties when serving in Taranaki. He was responsible for St Patrick's Redoubt in 1863; Sentry Hill, Kaitake, Te Arei and Manutahi Redoubts (1864); and Stoney River and Opunake Redoubts (1865), and he almost certainly supervised construction of other works as well. Colonel Warre's criticism of the trace or construction of several fortifications provides interesting insight into the requirements of small fieldworks in New Zealand.

THE FRONTIER

The European military frontier in Taranaki went through several organisational phases in the 1860s (Fig. 38). In the war of 1860-61 (Phase 1) the defended frontier consisted of an entrenchment securing a tiny area of what is now central New Plymouth, plus a ring of blockhouses not much further out (Prickett 1994a:37). Beyond this, troops and local forces controlled no more than was within weapon range of the various fortified posts.

In the first year of the second war the situation was much the same. Outside New Plymouth

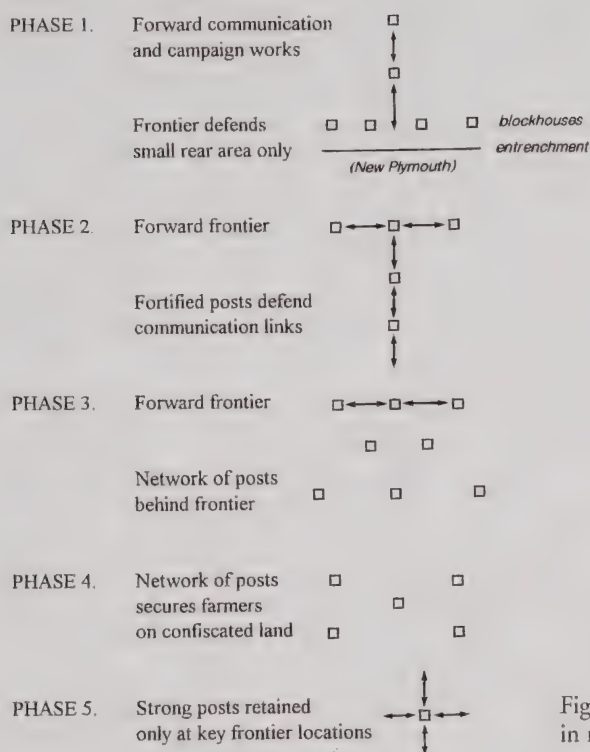


Fig. 38. Phases of military frontier development in north Taranaki, from 1860 to the early 1880s. Arrows indicate troop movements and patrols.

a handful of posts were isolated in a landscape largely controlled by Maori—at the end of 1863 these were the Bell Block Stockade north of New Plymouth, and Omata Stockade, St Patrick's Redoubt and Fort Robert to the south. When troops left Taranaki for the Waikato war in winter 1863 the local command lacked the resources for military initiatives. Only in February 1864 did troops return to Mahoetahi and throw up a new redoubt at nearby Sentry Hill, to begin the outward push of European control in north Taranaki.

There are two phases in the systematic development of Pakeha control of north Taranaki: the first (Fig. 38, Phase 2) closed off the region to Maori forces (Fig. 39); the second locked European control into place by the occupation of Maori land (Phase 3). Effective military control of the region began in March 1864 when Maori were driven from strongholds in the Kaitake Ranges and a southern frontier was fixed from the ranges to the sea at Oakura. In spring 1864 the north end of the inland track from south Taranaki was closed off in the Manutahi and Mataitawa districts; in autumn 1865 Pukearuhe was occupied to seal the northern approaches.

Two other military movements served to fix the boundary of European north Taranaki at this time. The January 1865 move to Hangatahua (Stoney River) secured a southern frontier, which remained in place until 1880. After the 1869 Maori raid on Pukearuhe a new northern frontier was fixed at Waiiti, before returning to Pukearuhe in 1872. The Stoney River and White Cliffs military frontiers were abandoned only with the end of effective Maori independence in coastal Taranaki and the King Country respectively. After the 1880-81 Parihaka

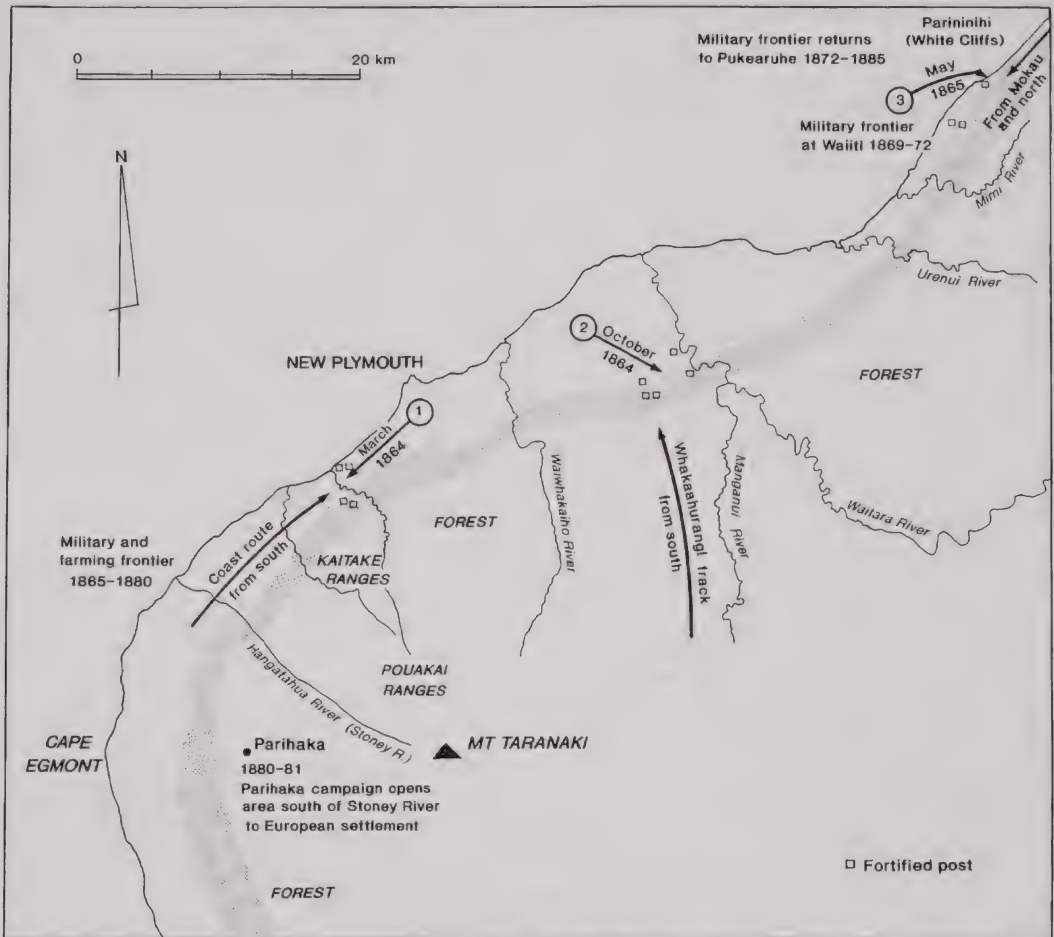


Fig. 39. Major European military movements and their related fortifications in Taranaki, 1864-1881.

campaign a strong forward post was maintained at Opunake to the mid-1880s, marching the post at Pukearuhe which was strongly held until agreement with the King Movement opened the King Country to European settlement.

Once the military frontier was secure, the farming frontier quickly followed (Fig. 40). When Maori forces were evicted from the Kaitake Ranges in March 1864, blockhouses behind New Plymouth were all that was needed to reassure returning farmers who had left their land at the outbreak of war in 1860. The same applied for returning farmers at Tataraimaka in early 1865. Beyond the pre-war farming districts, expansion of the European farming frontier was in the hands of military settlers.

An inch-to-the-mile cadastral "Map of Taranaki County", published in 1934 by the Surveyor-General, shows the pattern of confiscated land in north Taranaki. Townships at Tikorangi, Manganui, Huirangi, Mataitawa, Lepperton, Koru (Tuahukino), Ahu Ahu and Okato are surrounded by their town belts and the surveyed rural land awarded to military settlers. Another township was laid out at Pukearuhe (Clifton)—for which Taranaki Museum has a manuscript

plan dated September 1865, with the names of men on their selected sections.

Rural land was awarded according to rank. In the case of land allocated to the Tikorangi Volunteers, captains received 300 acres, lieutenants 200, ensigns 100, sergeants 80, corporals 60, and privates 50 acres. Each man also received a quarter acre town allotment ("Conditions upon which land will be given to settlers on the north of the Waitara", AD 31/1). Land was selected according to rank: officers chose their large blocks first, pushing 50-acre selections to poorer land at the settlement margins.

For a time there were forward frontier works held by British troops as well as a network of military settlement blockhouses to the rear. In the south there were strongly held imperial works at Stoney River, Warea and Opunake from early 1865 to May 1867 when the 50th Regiment was withdrawn prior to its departure for England. During this time the European farming frontier was established to Stoney River. In the Lepperton district there was a large garrison at Te Arai to early 1866, Mataitawa Redoubt also being strongly held by troops and Taranaki Military Settlers until Chute's march inland of Mt Taranaki in January 1866.

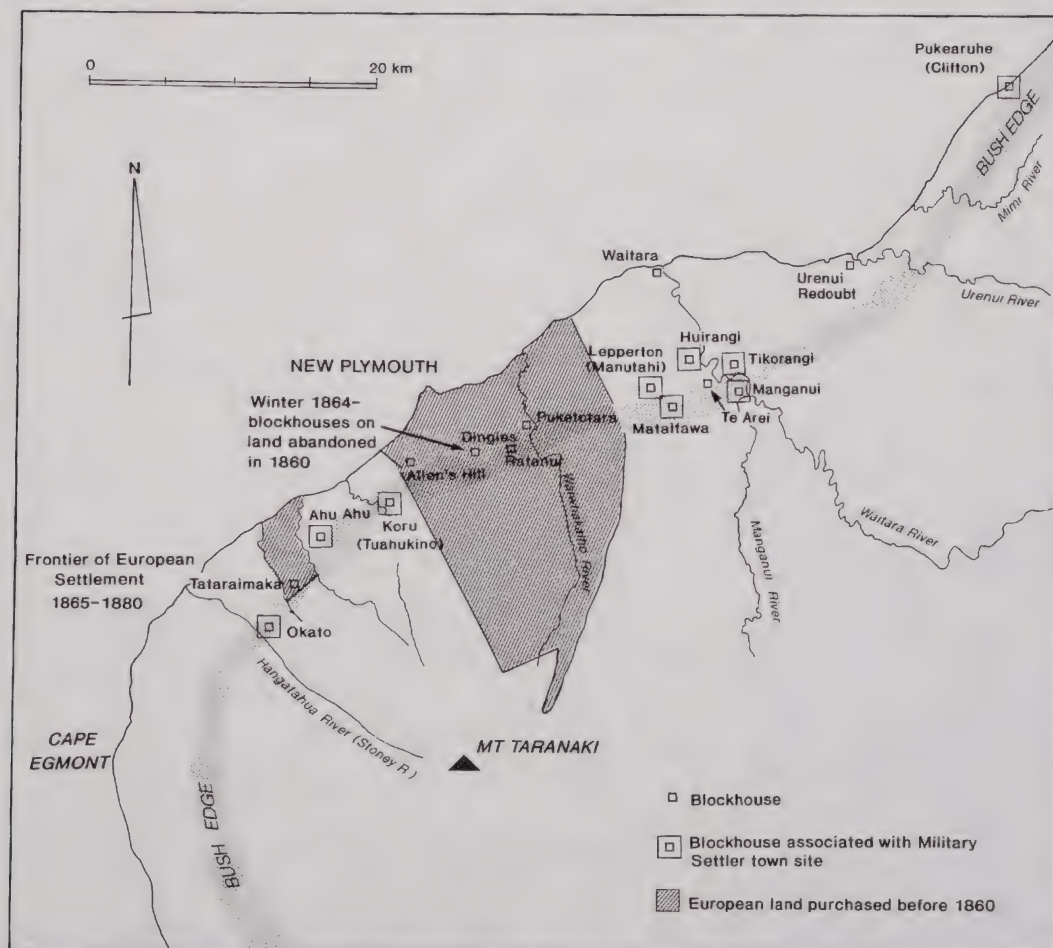


Fig. 40. Holding the land: blockhouses and military settler town sites in north Taranaki, 1864-69.

At the northern frontier the strong forward defence which was characteristic of this phase of frontier development ended in 1866 with reduction of the garrison at Pukearuhe. May 1867 saw the departure of British troops from Stoney River, Warea and Opunake. For a few years the strong forward posts were abandoned, to leave only the network of blockhouses which secured the farming frontier (Phase 4). Proof that the reduction in forward strength was premature came with the February 1869 Maori raid on Pukearuhe, when those remaining were killed and the post burned.

Thereafter a strong military presence was maintained in the north, at Waiiti from 1869 to 1872 and subsequently at Pukearuhe, behind which European settlers set about transforming the land (Phase 5). In the 1870s, at the southern frontier there was a small garrison only at Okato. As a result of the operations against Parihaka, however, a large Armed Constabulary presence was maintained in the early 1880s at the forward post of Opunake, matching the A.C. strength at Pukearuhe.

By the 1870s most blockhouses served only as parade posts and assembly points for discharged military settlers in the districts. Only with the destruction of Parihaka and the opening up of the King Country was there confidence enough to dismantle the physical remains of the military frontier in north Taranaki. It can be argued that the volunteer movement thereafter maintained the unequal power relationship with the former enemy, and thus the confidence of the Pakeha community; but this is not part of the story told here.

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APPENDIX 1. New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers and map references for fortifications referred to in the text. Approximate map references are given where the location is known but archaeological evidence has not been found.

Armed Constabulary redoubt north of Urenui River Q19/224 312450
Ahu Ahu Blockhouse P19 ca 908285
Egmont Village Blockhouse P19 ca 090282
Manganui Blockhouse Q19 ca 210360
Manutahi Blockhouse Q19 ca 147373
Mimi Stockade Q19/60 349482
No 2 Company redoubt, Onaero Q19/165 259412
Okato Blockhouse P19/47 865228
Opunake Redoubt P20/18 839937
Orongomaihangī P19 ca 840270
Papatiki Redoubt Q18/40 394523
Pukearuhe Redoubt Q18/80 415556
Puke Ti P19 ca 870250
Stoney River Redoubt P19/33 ca 832253
Takapu Redoubt Q19/164 221407
Tataraimaka Blockhouse P19/46 ca 884255
Te Arei Blockhouse Q19/154 192369
Tikorangi Redoubt Q19/153 209381
Tuahukino Blockhouse P19 ca 960300
Tukitukipapa P19/119 853288
Urenui Redoubt Q19/27 302449
Waiiti Redoubt Q18/41 391529
Warea Redoubt P20/17 770187
